

Maclean's

Canada's

Weekly Newsmagazine

June 19, 2000 www.macleans.ca \$4.50

BILL GATES
Hitting Back

JONI MITCHELL
Coming Home

PAUL GROSS
Recasting *Hamlet*

JUNE 23

The Day That Changed Canada

1990

When the Meech Lake accord died,
it unleashed a whirlwind:
Lucien Bouchard, the '95 referendum,
the Chrétien-Martin feud,
even the Alliance.

And it's not over yet.



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Setting the tone for a decade

It should have been a happy occasion. But a palpable sense of doom hung over the backs of newly elected Liberal Leader Jean Chrétien. The date was June 23, 1996. And what pooled there were ominous signs of distress from their party and from the country. At the zenith of his winning campaign, Chrétien had failed to take a stand on the toughest issue of the day, the Meech Lake accord. His advisers had warned that a word of support, while popular in Quebec, might doom his campaign in other parts of Canada.

So Christen set the tone for his decade—caution above all else. One senior Liberal recalls: "I did not share any celebratory feeling about the election of Jean Christen as leader. It had all been overhyped."

It also was a day that shaped modern Canadian history. Over the next 10 years, the failure of Meuch had consequences that were then largely unknown.

*The defection of Liberals and Conservatives and the formation of the Bloc Québécois, then Lucien Bouchard's leadership of the Bloc and, eventually, his emergence as the leader of the N.

forces in the 1975 referendum—the near-death experience that federalism won by a mere 53,000 votes.

- The opening of a rift between Clinton and his chief leadership rival, Paul Martin, which began when Martin

more, slightly more open negotiation of individual companies between Ottawa and individual provinces.

Some things Merck Labs did not do. Ours, and the provinces will continue find a way to strike agreement on key issues. The increasing inability of governments to deal effectively with the health-care issue is Exhibit number 1.

Mercer's failure was not the end of Canada, so then-Prime Minister Brian Mulroney had warned. Life has moved on. People have forgotten. Aside from Mulroney, then an official with the Assembly of First Nations, was prophetic in 1990 when he declared: "The rivers will flow and the sun will shine after June 23." Perhaps more significantly of all, the failure of Meech left Quebec's supporters off the Canadian Conservation—and, despite the apparent softening of nationalist fervor, still vulnerable to the war call of conservatism.

Christine in 1982, counting about 40

supporters denounced Chastain as a "snitch," or sellout, for failing to support March Lake.

- The flourishing of the Reform party from the sense that Meech granted special status to Quebec as a "distinct society"

- A fundamental change in the way the country is run. The process whereby men in suits met in secret to dangle up the state has given way to a more labor-

Robert Lewis

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Newsroom Notes

Down memory lane

This week's cover story on the 10th anniversary of the death of the Meech Lake accord was a rip into his own past for *Maclean's* Editor in Charge Anthony Wilson-Smith, who wrote the introductory essay for the package. A Quebec bureau chief and later as Ottawa editor, he covered all the major events of the Meech saga, and says that Canada is still living with the repercussions. "While it's largely forgotten elsewhere in Canada," Wilson-Smith notes, "it's



Quebec, Meach remains an unhealed wound—because it marked a psychic break with the rest of the country.”

Current Ontario Bureau Chief John Goddies, who wrote the main story, also travelled to Halifax last week to cover the leadership campaign of the Canadian Alliance—which, in its previous incarnations as Reform, got a huge boost from its association to Menzies.

tributed "the almost farcical mood in 1990 when support and the giddy feeling among constitutional devotees had turned into grief. It was still that way when I talked to [him] years after."



Ranking care

There is a strange dichotomy when it comes to "The best health care" (Kovacs, June 26). Ask any patient if they want the best and the obvious answer is always yes. Yet it is the very rare patient who contributes to obtaining

the best health care. Patients will never get the best care if they don't provide important and necessary information, I have been in medical practice for 25 years and I continue to be astounded that patients come to the office seeking advice and are unable to provide an adequate history. By and large, the majority has no idea what medication they are taking, even if they have been taking it for many years. They will go into great detail about the colour of the pill or the cream or even the colour of the jar, but they draw a blank when I ask for the name. They are frequently unaware of the nature of previous surgery or the diagnoses given to them. Now, with our changing demographics, many don't speak passable English and fail to bring a translator to the appointment. I don't know how they expect me to deal with this situation. If patients want the best health care, they must be prepared to contribute relevant information.

Dr. Howard Dargatzis, Associate Professor of Otolaryngology, University of Toronto



If North/West Vancouver is rated as the best in Canada with regard to availability, it is indeed a sad state of affairs for the rest of Canada. It is standard to wait three to four months for a CT scan, and six to eight months for a urology appointment to see an orthopedic surgeon in North Vancouver. Once the patient sees the orthopedic surgeon, it is often many more months before surgery can be performed. Most people have an idea how bad it really is, but how bad it is going to get. The most disturbing thing of all, which has not been fully recognized, is that its most damage has already been done. Even if governments restored health-care funding immediately, there would not be enough nurses to fill the positions for some years. Many have left the profession or moved to work in the United States. It is the nurses who are the backbone, the working hand as care-provider/patient as car. The bureaucratic and administrative positions are never needed. Unfortunately, your article appears to be the fact that much of your information was gleaned from the administrators who continue to claim that specialization is a passion, has saved money, and that everything is top. My life I suggest that next year you speak to the providers in the trenches! If I am working in the best area in Canada, don't I extend my sympathy to the health-care providers in the rest of Canada?

Dr. Brian McNeil-Jones, Seattle, B.C.

In the *Maclean's* Health Report, the message on strabismic Deaf-Andrews coffee mug, "Piss, plot, plot!" ("How the second reading was done," Cover, June 5), is the classic reminder to those analysing data to look at the

Long shot

I am Allan Fotheringham and I am (surprisingly) a Canadian. And although I have never run for dog, coach, I am a lifelong analyst of what it takes to be one. For I am Allan Fotheringham. And to prove any credentials as a very clever journalist, I have discovered that Tom Long has hired someone to help him get elected to head his party ("Yes, I am Tom Long," May 29), whereas no previous prime minister or politician has ever done such a thing. Yes, I am Allan Fotheringham, and I am eminently qualified to denigrate any promising, young candidate who has the ability and courage to do what I would never do—try to make Canada better.

W. A. MacDonald, Moreton, B.C.

numbers to consider. If you show the overall scores for the health regions on the study on a random plot, some interesting things are revealed. The variation in the scores is so small one suspects that there is no significant difference between any two scores. How much of the variation in the scores is due to mal-distribution between the regions, and how much of it is due to other factors not related to performance (the measurement process, for example)? Ranking assumes all differences are significant and that the scoring process is precise. Until this question can be answered with a reasonable degree of belief, you would do better to pass up the any score for each category and forget about creating artificial winners and losers by ranking.

Peter Strimling, Toronto

The article "The road to a healthy life" states that "provincial officials are investigating whether a Bursington hospital broke the law by charging patients to have an MRI done quickly on a privately funded scanner." It needs to be clarified that as far as we did the hospital accept payment from patients. The MRI unit was donated to the hospital. The hospital is permitted in specific circumstances to accept referrals from third-party payers, including the Workplace Safety & Insurance Board and insurance companies. The patients to whom

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your article shades were referred to that Bursington, Ont., hospital through Medical Referrals International Inc.

Douglas Phillips, President, Medical Referrals International Inc., Toronto

Seeing the stars

Thank you for your dark-day story, including the social and environmental impact of outdoor lighting in Canada ("Let there be dark," Environment, May 22). I have been interested in this issue for the past 16 months as I wage a personal battle with my local government over the design and operating conditions for tennis-court floodlights and all-night security lighting in a park adjacent to my new home and property. National coverage of the problem and the success experienced in some communities have given me the courage and determination to continue my fight against light pollution.

Maudslayi Di Carlo, Dundas, Ontario

Although retired architect Peter Goring inspired the dark-day designation, as you noted, it was Toronto lawyer and activist Michael Silver who spearheaded the campaign to protect the Toronto Borens in Ontario's Muskoka region, which culminated in its being declared a conservation reserve in 1998. It was only after this protection had been achieved that astrophotographers began to submit in writing to already protected areas as a dark-day reserve.

Barbara Wally, Toronto

'Educate the public'

The crisis in Wilderston, Ont. ("Tragedy in Wilderston," *Canada*, June 5) has shown how important it is to quickly and correctly identify the type of illness caused by harmful organisms in food or water. Many Wilderston students are placed to report their illness, and did not seek medical help, because they thought they had the flu. Some even drank more water than usual for this

reason. Yet their symptoms—severe stomach cramps, nausea, vomiting and diarrhea—are not in any way associated with the flu, or influenza. Influenza is a respiratory disease with symptoms that include a fever, extreme tiredness and a persistent cough. It is not a stomach illness. A public education campaign may be needed to end this apparently widespread confusion.

Thomas Anderson, Summerside, B.C.

I and others in my community are opposing a new landfill site to be constructed within our township. This is a location chosen by Simco County with little regard for environmental repercussions. It would be located in the middle of high-quality, productive farmland. In addition, there are wetlands streams and water sources flowing into and through this area. With Wetlands in mind, one must wonder if we are not looking at a similar disaster (if this landfill site does go through).

Paul Langford, Alden, Ont.

'Merci Rocket'

I was born in Montreal and started school the same year that Maurice Richard joined the Club de hockey Canadiens ("Firewall to the Rocket," *Canada*, June 5). Over the next 18 years, I was privileged to attend hundreds of games at the Forum and was a spectator on that fateful night of the riot in March, 1995. A measure of the ruggedness in the fact that I still have the faint fragrance of the L'Orfèvre hair conditioner to "Joak" (Merci Rocket).

Garry Gwynne, St. John's, Nfld.

A tale of two cities

In your article "Hockey's black-out history" (*Overview*, May 22), you wrote "John Tava of Windsor, Ont., became first black coach in pro hockey." Please, Windsor, *Windsor*, was the home of Pat. His family continues to live there.

Dolores Porter, Newport, N.S.

Letters to the Editor

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Overture

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Edited by Anthony Wilson-Smith
with Shanda Drexel

Urban Legend

The puck stops here

It has become the case of the missing puck. Someone after scoring his legendary 500th goal, Maurice (Rocket) Richard announced: "We want [the puck] to the Queen—so it's over in England somewhere. I hope so anyway." Since then, the story has circulated throughout Canada—and like the game of broken telephone, new details keep being added. The latest version, by



Richard with pucks from goals 400 (left) and 500th on display (top)

which the puck was supposed to have been placed in gold before being sent to Buckingham Palace, was repeated, in a fact, by anchorman Peter Mansbridge during CBC's coverage of Richard's funeral. Mansbridge went on to say to his guest, veteran announcer Dick Irvin, that it would be a good idea to get it back. Since the funeral, the Hockey Hall of Fame has received several calls about the missing memento. There's only one problem with all that, says Kelly Maass, manager of marketing and media relations at the hall: "We don't know how this started, but the puck is where in his beloved display case—and it's not gold."

Shanda Drexel

Reality Check

Queer, and here

When it comes to gay-related themes on television, anecdotal evidence suggests Canadians are more tolerant than viewers in Britain. A year ago, the British series *Queer as Folk*—which chronicles the sex lives

guards and making 15 people to handle each call. But after the show aired, Showcase received 279 phone messages and e-mails—only seven of which were negative. Some sample caller voices:

Negative:

"I am so sick of having gay garbage consumed down my throat."

"The positive side of this show is that it will be aired at midnight when this offensive piece of trash hopefully will be viewed mainly by gays."

Positive:

"We found the series to be serious, emotional and humorous without being condescending or preachy."

"The series is so real and in your face, it breaks the ice into this genre of life in the gay world."

"Forgoing gay aspects of the show, the program is compelling and extremely well done."

S.D.

Overbites: Women on Women and Work

...conduct injurious to the moral tone of the school or the physical or mental well-being of others and persistent opposition to authority."

Katherine Burke, principal at a Cornell, Ont., high school, explains why nine students were suspended for having lunch at Hooper's restaurant, where female staff wear tight-fitting tank tops.

"It prevents women like me from doing what comes naturally, which is feeding my baby."

Deborah Stinebrink, Canadiana delegate at special United Nations assembly on women, protests policy that prevents her from breastfeeding, the UN does not allow children under 14 to attend meetings.

"So far, work for gender equality has not focused much on the man's role."

Margareta Winberg, Sweden's equality minister, calls for international conference to promote role of men.



Trudiea Kemper and Tim Kyle, who were always obliging

Fair share she had received again. She was very obliging, some of the photographers told me she was a bit crazy, but I found her obliging. She had been out of the limelight for some time and people don't like being out of the limelight even if when they were in the limelight they were rather silly. So I knew she would be fine."

On Wayne Gretzky: "It was at the time Edmondson just went into the NHL. He looked like a slug, with his hair all permed, but he was a nice guy. I tell you, I didn't know what to do with him. I spent a week with him for *Life* magazine and we used only one picture. He is sitting on the ice, with a pair of short boxer pants on. What a stupid picture. And he said to me: 'You know, Harry, the boys are going to laugh at me, the boys are going to laugh,' and I said, 'No they won't, and you know what, the boys did. He was embarrassed.'"

Gretzky, actually, not a photograph that he'd likely end to the Hall of Fame.



able from command-input devices (like keyboards). The agency donated software in a printer destined for Baghdad. It was installed in Iraq headquarters, where it split out printed text for vetting—until an Allied signal activated special instructions. Then, it began directing commands back into the mainframe, which cropped text or shield

Chris Wood

Over and Under Achievers

'Survivor': a Tory story?

Special all-guns-against-busines: the *Yale* Paul for \$1,000,000! Reach for the Top: how has it all go? And Alex, Regis, the Great Robby category, please!

Pam Walker: Puck of Widens, Sisk, will have one-shot, all-Canadian version of *Who Wants to Be a Millionaire*—with show to be staged in Manhattan. After all, this's where our finest minds live.

Alex Trebek and Regis Philbin: Superstar who report battle of game show hosts continues, with her own *Alex's Amazing Race* because of his success. They'll continue their busy life right after their commercial introduction.

Watch for the Top: Regis-Philbin: the show for goals to return after reality show, with last set yet chosen. Sorry, regis: another life for Regis Borgegale!

Survivor: CBS show about 16 people stuck in from civilization, plotting to off each other, poor smash ratings. Joe Clark and Tory caucus to see for theft of idea.

Pleaser Guest: Has reality-TV concept—like two Canadian couples, and 'am in live in wilderness, and run series showing how they make out. One before son, husband of one gets charged with sexual assault, drops out. Moral of story and life has no place in reality TV.



e-scores



The challenge: The National Hockey League wanted a way to truly bring hockey into the 21st century. League commissioner Gary Bettman imagined a sophisticated real-time scoring system for NHL games immediately accessible worldwide through a vibrant "go site." A site where fans could easily access timely scores and statistics, see live from the NHL's games, and purchase freshly licensed NHL merchandise online.

The solution: The Online Real Time Scoring System for Hockey. This program cords and tabulates all on-ice activity during a game. Laptop computers linked the official game clock record play-by-play activity and then send the information a scalable AS/400® SP to crunch the numbers and provide the statistics in minutes for every game.

The results: For fans, teams, broadcasters and the media, the Web site and its new scoring system were real winners. The site is making more hits than before. Fans cheer fans. An innovative new face for League. Some IBM just helped the NHL score a hit back.



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Over to You



Susan Oh

My life as a Twinkie

If you often come into contact with Asian-Canadians, you likely know a banana or two—the slang expression referring to people who are yellow on the outside, but more white on the inside because they don't make much of their ethnicity. Or how about a *refa adid*—a person whose background includes a lot of everything mixed up with large doses of white? Then there are *kanakas*—Korean-Canadian playwright Jean Yoon's term for cultural puns who are yellow both inside and out. I prefer my own term, a Twinkie—fluffy and golden—but with my Korean roots and Canadian upbringing, I also see myself as a peccol banana.

Net everyone sees humor in appropriating. Some time ago, *Globe and Mail* columnist Jan Wong, who is of Chinese origin but raised in Canada, took after Gorki Gorki, Adrienne Clarkson because, she said, Clarkson only began emphasizing her Chinese roots after the appointment (Adrian Wayne Choy, a self-described banana, told Wong, in turn, a banana split.) Every ethnic group has its own identity, and they often suggest race betrayal. In Chinese, *putting on* means a business shoe—inflow in both ends. The Korean expression *gojo* literally refers to an emigrant, but is more often used to call someone a fake Korean.

Love or hate them, racial labels stick. I appropriate my own meanings for these words and embrace them. That reaction is a defiant joke shared among those of us who straddle the racial divide. It's a Korean-Canadian artist, loved being called a banana, because "to me it reflects all the complex cultural assumptions at work. But I don't think of myself as yellow—more beige." But Louise, a Canadian-Chinese poet whose family arrived at the turn of the century, says such language "never loses its impact and there's no denying that negative history exists."

The story is different today for Asian transplants like myself. I was born in Korea and moved to Calgary at age 5 in the late 1970s, when immigration policy first opened up. That put me among the first wave of immigrant Asians to bear the brunt of assimilation. We are the transitional generation, the ones who had to create a new cultural identity. That was apparent when I attended to Korea in my teens, attempting to reconnect with my roots. Instead, I found what I wasn't—a Korean. People there were suspicious of transplants like me who claimed to know what their culture was all about.

My generation grew up as globetrotters and biculturalists because of life. If multicultures can—and do—adopt rock, reggae and other creative symbols of rebellion to peddle blue jeans and mirrors, it's no stretch for some of us to report intended assimilation as a badge of individualism.

Asian-Canadians have made huge strides in redefining what it means to be a Canadian: the most visible symbol, of course, was Clarkson's appointment. We also pop up in the arts, media, professional sports, and all types of trades and professions. So should we not allow ourselves to redefine what it means to be Asian-Canadian?

The way I express my ethnicity are part of my rights as a Canadian. The extent to which I express ethnicity is my birthright. Sure, Canada is a tolerant society, but who wants to be just tolerated? For my parents' generation, saving face socially was the cardinal rule. But my generation questions what face is worth saving—if each of us can't wear the one we please.

Susan Oh is made of many different elements. Guest columnists may be sent to smc@ibm.com or found at (416) 596-7730. We cannot reprint in all quarters.



Ballerinas and immigration

She's six feet tall in her platform boots and blond is a Russian where right. Thus, the 26-year-old ballerina Anastasia Volochina subterfuge into the life of 34-year-old lawyer and vice-chairman of the English National Ballet, Anthony Kerran. The benefits of the friendship were apparent to many in the two met in Moscow, Zurich and Budapest with a noticeable uptick in Miss Volochina's living standards.

It turned out Miss Volochina, formerly of the Kirov and now with the Bolshoi Ballet, was ruffling over the possibility of getting a visa to stay in Britain. "Widely" lawyer Mr. Kerran felt he could help her out. Unfortunately for this agreeable situation, Mr. Kerran also has an Israeli-born wife of 21 years who has taken this particular cultural exchange rather unhappily and considered a divorce lawyer. Miss V. said *Hell* magazine is a fetching seven-page June 6 photo essay that she is "casually not" having an affair with Mr. Kerran. She stated that "perhaps my husband" just isn't up to the speed of her life. Happily for the tabloid press, Miss V. is making a guest appearance this month in the English National Ballet's production of *The Sleeping Beauty*. She is cut, coincidentally, as the beautiful, but wicked, witch Carabosse who pun Prince Aurora to sleep. Tabloid insiders have also been treated to accounts of other "mistress" Miss V. is said to have acquired in between practicing her plus.

Twenty-six years ago, another Russian ballet dancer wanted a visa. Mikhail Baryshnikov had defected from the Kirov Ballet in Toronto. He, too, had a mistress—an heiress who flew from London to help him make the transition. He, too, was a beauty, a Slavic-faced young man of 25 with blond, white night looks. The press greeted Baryshnikov with joy. Miss V., by contrast, has been depicted as a New Russian—a crude marriage swindler and, happen, manipulative.

"When he defected, Mr. Baryshnikov remarked that he did not have time to wait for changes in his country's system that would allow him to develop his artistry. He said he had to leave there after 10 years, and great ballerinas can't wait for fewer than 30 of them. Miss V. is trying to escape from the ossified of conservatism a great waiting system of a land whose people suffered for more than 80 years and are now up to their necks in it. In 30 years, Russia may be sorted out, but where will Miss V.'s beauty and technique be then? It may be nobler for citizens to stay and help rebuild their ravaged homelands, but it's hardly their duty. Most people stay in such countries only because they have no other choice. They do not have the energy, the character and determination to leave. Nor can I blame Miss V. for taking advantage of the kindness of strangers. Most human beings have intentions of one sort or another—emotional, professional, mate

and female ones. Menstrual help you get a leg up—not always on return for a leg over. A handful of ballerinas may create havoc in the drawing rooms and bedrooms of the upper classes as they concern more routine immigration policies, but they cause no social problems.

Many social problems in the West have been caused by immigration policies of the past three decades. All through that time, building up to the large migration movements of today, the ignorant and motivated have fled hither and thither in search of lands economically and politically freer than their own. Such immigrants include good people and bad people, hard workers and criminals. Most of the Western world is caught now in a witch's brew that Carabosse never dreamed of: a mixture of anti-foreign sentiments brought on by failed foreign policies and bad immigration ones.

A good immigration policy is one designed in the best interests of the host country. The most important impulse behind it must be to first help the host country—not to help the immigrants or their families, however nice that would be. In Canada, for example, there is a labour shortage at the top and the bottom. We need highly skilled and entrepreneurial immigrants to replace those Canadians who go to the States as well as lots of immigrants who are not just willing but eager to do the jobs Canadians won't do. The second most important aspect of a sensible immigration policy is to favour immigrants who come from regions or large groups most likely to achieve meaningful assimilation into the host country. This should allow immigrants from other places but probably not on a large scale. A diverse society also makes opportunity and talent in people for humanitarian reasons—refugees from natural disasters or civil war.

Canada's immigration policy was based on these principles (occasionally lagged, as is the "house is too many" approach to Jewish refugees in the Second World War) that then came Pierre Trudeau who, in the early Seventies, decided to use immigration policy as a means of social engineering. He wanted to move Canada off its Anglo-French axis and change it into a multicultural country. Whether this was a good or a bad thing is another topic. To accomplish his goal, Trudeau relinquished the basic principles ordering our immigration policy. On a social level, Canada survived, though not without the costs of internal tensions. Economically, it has been a disaster. We can't replace critical emigrating skilled workers at one end and can't find workers to hire as doctors at the other. Society lost its engine of mass and immigration. By now, it will take a miracle of political will to solve this problem. Perhaps we could entice the vouch Carabosse to become a new immigrant and put our current policies to sleep.



Start



Finish

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HONDA

Since the failure of the Meech Lake accord, the politiconomics of the country have been dramatically altered

The Day that Changed Canada

By Anthony Wilson-Smith

It should have been such a happy day for Jean Chrétien and his closest friends—so why was no one smiling? On June 23, 1990, Chrétien and a group of advisers sat in a dimly lit, newly dressing-room of the Calgary Saddledome normally used by hockey referees. Outside, 4,000 Liberal delegates awaited results of the first-ballot vote that would confirm Chrétien as the party's new leader. Within the room, he said his people—including alter ego Ed Stelmach and planning wizard Jean Carle—had little doubt of their success. But when three *Maclean's* journalists arrived for an interview, Chrétien was subdued and defensive. "When you hear a speech in Quebec, he talks 'Lac Meech, Lac Meech,'" he said at one point. "Eventually, people dream about Lac Meech. Nobody knows what it is. I don't like it."

Memories are made of such things—and so are running poems in a nation's history. Consider Canada's political landscape a decade ago this month. Brian Mulroney's Progressive Conservatives had a majority government, Quebec and the rest of Canada were a few clauses away from constitutional peace, the Reform party held one seat in the House of Commons, and the Bloc Québécois didn't exist. Since then, the political dynamics of the country have changed dramatically—and almost all

those changes are attributable to the failure of the Meech Lake constitutional accord.

Today, it's fair to say relatively few Canadians remember much about the specifics of the Meech debate. By the time of the accord's demise, it had become fashionable to damn both in content and the manner in which it was arrived at. Critics referred disparagingly to "11 men in suits" bent on carving up future constitutional responsibilities—without public input. Never mind that the three-year gap between reaching the agreement in April, 1987, and its June, 1990, ratification deadline included a series of public hearings, the perception was otherwise. And then there was the most crucial point of debate: whether declaring Quebec a "distinct society" would give it exceptional powers, or simply recognize the province as the home of one of the country's two official language groups. Those disparate views fractured old friendships and stirred resentment. As Robert Bourassa said, shortly before he died

in October, 1996, in Quebec: "My break modern history into two stages: pre- and post-Meech."

Almost every politician who took a high-profile position emerged involved in some way in the 1990 referendum, the leading federalist campaigns were Pierre Trudeau and Chrétien—because they were among the most popular No supporters. Their later opposition to Meech—Trudeau's in as much as he was for Mulroney, and Chrétien's through his public uncertainty—made them near-pariahs in their home province, but more popular than ever with many English-Canadians. And at his opportunity to Meech, Chrétien stood in sharp contrast to his principal leadership challenger, Paul Martin—which marked the start of the narrowing gulf between them.

Preston Manning's arguments against inclusionary negotiations and for equality of all provinces resonated—Reform support went from one seat to 52 in the next election. Lucien Bouchard, who led Mulroney's cabinet, renouncing the accord and severing his three-decade-long friendship with the prime minister became a sovereigntist icon—though his rift with Mulroney still pains him. Newfoundland's Clyde Wells, who led the accord by refusing to hold a promised vote in his province's house of assembly, became most popular there ever in English Canada. Dino Manolatos's Gary Filmon, the other holdout, and New Brunswick's Frank McKenna, the first to question the accord all lost re-election next time out.

Supporters of Meech didn't fare so well. Mulroney took a

pounding politically outside Quebec; after two majority governments, his post-Meech popularity rating in polls never moved beyond 20 per cent. Ontario's David Peterson, the most aggressive Meech supporter after Bourassa, was tossed from office in September, 1990. During the height of talks, Bourassa was stricken with the skin cancer that would kill him; he put off treatment, and the delay may have cost him his life.

Meech's failure, meanwhile, caused a schism within Quebec federalist forces that remains unhealed. And it ignited the pro-sovereigntist, who since then have won provincial majorities in two federal elections and twice won Quebec elections. Today, the provincial Liberals' biggest obstacle to a return to power is that the Parti action démocratique, a quasi-sovereigntist party formed by former Liberals after the collapse of Meech, has siphoned off the "soft" nationalist francophone support that has traditionally meant the difference between victory and defeat.

Key participants now look back at Meech with either acerbic anger, bitterness or frustration. Mulroney, who recalled events with *Maclean's* in a rare interview, insists he has "made my peace" (page 26). For a time, he was at loggerheads with those who helped defeat Meech that, for example, he would never mention Bouchard by name. Even now, his frustration at being deprived of what would have been his greatest achievement is still evident. He and Chrétien, who once had a respectful relationship, are acerbic about each other.

Chrétien and his advisers are defiant. In 1996, not long after the near-collapse of federalism in the 1995 sovereignty referendum, John Rae, the Montreal businessman who is the Prime Minister's closest friend and adviser, was asked if, in retrospect, accepting Meech might have been a small price to pay to avoid the near-loss of the country. Perhaps, he said, they might have acted differently if they'd known then what they know now. But after reflecting for a day, he called back and said: "We did the right thing. You do what you believe in. Meech was wrong for Canada."

Bourassa remained attached to the end of his life. In a three-hour session at his home in early 1996, he was ruminating of his previous assertion that Meech marked a beginning, not an end, to Quebec's push for powers. Why then, he was asked, should the rest of Canada have gone along? Because, he said, two sides can trust each other as partners or adversaries; it's attitude that makes all the difference. Despite the failure, Bourassa insisted Meech was a risk worth taking. "Without Quebec's signature on the Constitution," he said, "there is a hole in the heart of all Quebecers—including federalists. I thought we could head that. Less than a year later, he died. In constitutional terms, nothing has changed since Meech. In other ways, nothing has ever been the same. ■



A Life Of Its Own

By John Geddes

Where were you when the Meech Lake accord died? Prime Minister Jean Chrétien could answer that one in a snap: on June 23, 1990, he was in Calgary's Saddledome being elected leader of the Liberal party. Not just about everybody else, though, the game is hardly as compelling as remembering where they cheered Paul Henderson's goal, say, or shed a tear for John F. Kennedy. But Deborah Gray has a good story. She was the lone Reform MP back in 1990—a one-woman outpost of western outrage over the accord that was supposed to reconcile Quebec to federalism. On the Sunday when the deal finally collapsed, Gray was at her house on Laurier Lake, northeast of Edmonton. Her German shepherd, Juno, wandered back from a romp in the bush that morning with a wad of mauling rope stuck under her collar. "So I pulled it off and stretch it out straight, and on it is written, 'His, Deb, Moony! Meech Lake is dead!'" Gray laughs. "I never did find out who did it."

There would have been no shortage of candidates in rural Alberta for scrawling an anti-Meech Lake greeting. The

Meech Lake may have died, but Canada is still living with the consequences

accord, signed by Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and the 10 provinces on April 30, 1987, had turned into a lightning rod for every sort of discontent during the more than three years the provinces gave themselves to ratify the deal. In the end—the very hour evil—Manitoba and Newfoundland failed to pass it by the deadline. Yet

Meech Lake's influence has arguably been as great in failure as it might have been in success. The episode drove Lucien Bouchard out of the federal Conservative fold to inspire a separatist resurgence. It split the Liberal party along lines that still divide followers of Chrétien, who opposed the accord, from backers of Paul Martin, who supported it. And Gray, now interim Canadian Alliance leader, was joined in Ottawa in 1995 by a Reform avenger elected, in no small measure, because of anti-Meech Lake sentiment—a popular backlash that gained momentum when Meech's successor, the Charlottetown accord, was defeated in an October, 1992, referendum.

But the politicians who championed the accord were also fervent—while the close circle of journalists who chronicled it were almost as impassioned. Some reporters insisted that it would settle arguments stretching back at least to the dawn of modern Quebec nationalism with the Quiet Revolution of the early 1960s. Ely Abbott, who as CBC television's parliamentary bureau chief was one of the most influential shapers of the very Meech Lake was portrayed in *Canadians* living rooms, brought to the story all the baggage of an Anglophone, Moonstruck—and one who had passed the public broadcaster just a week before the 1970 October Crisis. "I had lived and breathed Quebec stuff all my professional life," says Abbott, now a communications consultant with Ottawa's politically potent Earncliffe Strategy Group. "I guess I really did think at the time that Meech Lake was potentially the culmination of 30 years of effort."

That culmination was supposed to be achieved when five proposals put forward by then-Quebec Premier Robert Bourassa were accepted, with modifications, by Mulroney and the nine other provinces. Four of those demands might have ended through with little public debate: Quebec would

gain more control over immigration, and other provinces could negotiate for the same power; Quebec's traditional three seats on the nine-member Supreme Court of Canada would be entrenched in the Constitution, and Ottawa would make all appointments to the court from lists proposed by the provinces; the federal government would compensate any province that opted out of future national programs in areas of provincial jurisdiction; and any future constitutional reform that changed federal institutions would require the unanimous consent of Ottawa and the provinces.

But the fifth tenet—lasted first, in fact, in the triumphant constitutional mood at Meech Lake on April 30, 1987—sparked controversy from the outset. Quebec would be declared a "distinct society." The pro-Meech Lake forces claimed, mostly outside Quebec, that recognizing the province's distinctness was merely a matter of symbolism and psychology. Bourassa, however, insisted that the distinct so-



Mulroney in Parliament on June 26, 1990, just before the deadline for ratification

city clause changed the way the entire Constitution, including the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, would be interpreted by the courts when it came to Quebec. "Who was right? No less an authority than Brian Dickson, the late chief justice of the Supreme Court of Canada, noted in a 1996 speech that the courts already "take into account Quebec's distinctive role in preserving and promoting its francophone character." So formally recognizing that fact, Dickson declared, would not have changed much.

There were, of course, legitimate grounds for opposing a constitutional change that explicitly set Quebec apart from the other provinces. But something less rational, and in some ways also in play even today, the main players on both sides of the debate hesitate to discuss the degree to which outraged anti-Quebec bigotry was behind the fierce opposition to the clause.

Former New Brunswick premier Frank McKenna remembers being unsettled when he realized how widespread those sentiments were. When he was elected premier of New Brunswick on Octo-

ber 13, 1987, he at first opposed the accord, which had been signed by his Conservative predecessor, Richard Hatfield. Mary Meach Lake critics lauded McKenna as "Captain Canada." But his aid for opposing the deal soon faded. "Reading the mail I was getting—and I was getting it by the thousands of letters—it became obvious to me that I was not on the same side as the people who were supporting me," McKenna recently told *Maclean's*. "There was well-motivated opposition from people who had a genuine love of Canada. But I was also receiving a lot of mail that was anti-Quebec or anti-French, and that really disgusted. I realized very quickly that I had nothing in common with these people and it was a terrible error to be associated with their cause."

But Deborah Gray is having none of that. "Anti-Quebec? Anti-French? No, not at all," she declares. "The feeling was, either we're all equal or we're not." As well, she says anxiously over the distinct society clause was not so a deep suspicion



With it April, 1990, deciding not to risk being "blasted by the nation"

Mercury in June, 1990.
Clonest six months earlier (right) the senator was pinching his fingers as Robt. J. refuting to join Meach in a reception note



Turner announcing on Feb. 7, 1990, that Herb Gray was stepping in as interim Liberal leader; Charest in January, 1990 (left); Pelous in spring, 1990 (middle); political coverage

over the way the deal was cooked up. "People were saying to me, 'What is this distinct society definition?' " he recalls. "And, 'Who are these guys who were coming and going in this big, fancy cars to this big, fancy place on March Lake?' That was the frustration."

The big, fancy place was Wilson House, an elegant pile of red sandstone in Quebec's Gatineau hills, 25 km northwest of Ottawa. Built by the industrialist and senator Thomas Wilson in 1910, it was bought by the government in 1979 and used as the Queen Anne Revival glory Maloney



Maloney greeting Bouscass at 24 Sussex Drive debates about "distinct society"

gathered the premier there in anticipation to cut a deal that would persuade Quebec to sign on to the Constitution. He subscribed to the view that Quebec was left "alone, isolated and humiliated" in 1982 when Pierre Trudeau brought the Constitution home from Britain and took the revolutionary step of adding the Charter of Rights and Freedoms—against their-Quebec Premier René Lévesque's opposition. Maloney had vowed to bring Quebec back into the constitutional family with "honour and enthusiasm"—the cornerstone of his appeal to the many Quebec nationalists he courted into his Tory coalition.

Clattered in a conference room on Wilson House's second floor, with a generously sized Canadian national view of narrow little March Lake, the premier bonded. Maloney, the old labour lawyer, got his deal in 10 short hours. Later, opponents of the accord would fester on the image of the First Minister's hurried deals in a room defined by the nation's destiny. But those who supported the accord never saw much reason to object to the process. To Liberal leader John Turner, whose support for March Lake underpinned him politically, or indeed like the Canadian view "Benevolent," Turner says, only half-jokingly, "this country was founded in a room in Charlottetown—John A. and the boys, right?"

But, then, Sir John A. Macdonald's boys came to be called the "fathers of Confederation." Maloney and the premiers of 1967 were marked with the label "11 men in suits." As a

direct result, First Minister may never more be quite that way again. One of the casualties of the March Lake debacle was so-called executive federalism—the practice of the premiers and the Prime Minister sitting, their gut-together in deal-cutting, agenda-setting autonomy. Since 1990, federal-provincial agreements, like last year's social union framework agreement, tend to be much more puzzlingly—and publicly—constructed over years of meetings, with plenty of outside consultation.

Gary Filmon, the former Conservative Manitoba premier who is now leaving politics after losing a provincial election last fall, says the indecipherable March Lake taught Canadian politicians what this industry is top-down, brokerage politics and voters will punish you (Filmon himself defeated NDP premier Howard Pawley, one of the original March Lake 11, in a 1996 provincial election). "When you look at the names and the firms that were associated with March Lake, every single person who argued that agreement was gone from office within a very few short years," Filmon observed in a recent interview.

The political carnage wrought by March Lake did not just come at the ballot box. Intimate damage within the federal parties was at least as acute. A month before the deadline for passing the accord through the provincial legislatures, Bouchard, Maloney's conservative minister, quit the Tories—and got up on Canada. Bouchard was angry over a special

committee report that recommended criteria aimed at satisfying some of March Lake's advances, after he argued disavowed that Bouscass had won for Quebec. That committee was headed by a promising Tory MP named Joan Charest, who is now Bouchard's archrival as leader of Quebec's provincial Liberals.

In the federal Liberal party, Turner's days as leader were numbered when Trudeau, who had seemed a fading force in retirement, returned to the fray, his own instinct, to combat March Lake. He argued trenchantly that it would leave

Quebec "subordinate to the provinces" in too many areas. "Trudeau opposed it effectively," Turner admits ruefully. "And Charest was his acolyte, and he used March Lake as a lever against me in the leader of the party." Turner announced he was stepping down, on May 3, 1989, at the March Lake debate was heating up.

With Turner on his way out, a leadership race named the Liberal party's family squabble over March Lake to open warfare. Charest, the front-runner to replace Turner, was against the deal, Paul Martin, his main rival, was aggressively for it. Charest's inner circle remains unforgiving to this day over how Martin's pro-March youth supporters turned their men as a "smoke" (smoke) at a candidates' debate in Montreal. "It was totally unprincipled," says one Martin organizer who was there that day, about the charged insults. "And it got really out of hand." Some Liberals believe that incident—and the deep schism it exposed within the party over how to ap-



Holding the Liberal leadership vote the same day as the ratification deadline created a strange convergence

proach Quebec—accounts for the continued reluctance on the part of some of Charest's closest advisers to see Martin ever take over their party.

No image from the final, intense push to join March Lake a more iconic than that of Manitoba NDP MLA Elgha Harper, in a Cree from Red Sucker Lake, lifting an eagle feather and uttering a solemn "No." Harper performed his monosyllabic ritual day after day in Manitoba's legislature, denouncing the unanimous consent needed to introduce the accord for debate without the normal two-day notice. Using that procedural tactic to prevent March Lake from being passed by the deadline was first discussed by Harper and Paul Bonine, then head of the Assembly of Manitoba Chiefs, a few weeks earlier over breakfast at a Winnipeg's Charest House dinner. Fournier, who is now retiring for his second term as national chief of the Assembly of First Nations, stresses that Aboriginal leaders had no consultation with what Quebec was winning through the accord. They just wanted their own special status enshrined, too. "Our particular concerns," he notes, "was with the further imposition of the Big Lie that Canada was made up of two founding nations, two official languages."

Parliamentaries at any suggestion that Harper's protest was anything less than March Lake's death blow. But others

say the real credit—or blame—belongs to then-Newfoundland Premier Clyde Wells. His Liberals won the April 20, 1989, provincial election and soon secured approval of the accord passed by Wells' predecessor, Conservative Brian Peckford. Although Wells was never recruited to March Lake, he agreed to at least put it to a vote in Newfoundland after a last-ditch effort to save the deal. But Wells never called that vote. When Manitoba's legislature failed to vote on time, Wells decided not to risk having his legislature turn down the accord and be, as he put it, "blamed by the nation."

But would Newfoundland MLAs have voted against March Lake on June 22, 1990? Senator Lowell Murray, who was Maloney's minister of state for federal-provincial relations and a key architect of the accord, believes otherwise. Murray says senior Liberal politicians who were actively trying to drum up support for the expected March Lake vote in the Newfoundland legislature appeared at the time that they

had enough MLAs on side to carry the day. As for Harper, Murray says the fact that his play was merely procedural would have meant that his passage of the accord in Manitoba would have been viewed as largely adequate. "March failed," Murray says, "essentially because Clyde Wells wouldn't put it to his legislature."

At the time, certainly, Wells was hailed as a hero by March Lake's advocates. The day after he decided not to put the matter to a vote in St. John's, he arrived at the Liberal convention in Calgary to a warm embrace in the stands from Joan Charest. While anti-March Liberals backing Charest applauded Wells and Trudeau, Murray's pro-March friends were disappointed. In their campaign next to the Saddle-dome, Manitoba's youth supporters wrote on a TV news reported the death of the accord. "It made for a weird atmosphere," recalls John Duffy, a Martin adviser at the time, and now a government relations consultant in Toronto. "Everybody knew this was going to be a splintering of coalitions."

And that splintering began on the convention floor. Martin supporters from Quebec, dormant Black separatists to mourn the death of March Lake, were there to hear their eyes as Charest addressed the convention. A few went on to join Bouchard's new Bloc. To complicate matters, it

*Maloney and the
journalists on April 30,
1995: "11 men in suits"*



turned out that Charest, despite his early optimism to the accord, had worked behind the scenes to try to get it passed in those final days. No matter. He had long since been vilified by Quebec's national political and media elite. Senator Jean-Claude Rivest, who served as Bouchard's top political and constitutional advice, says the loss was not just Quebec's—it was Canada's. "Imagine for one moment if Meech Lake had survived," Rivest says. "No Bloc Québécois. No Lucien Bouchard. No referendum in 1995. It would have brought constitutional peace in Canada for 15 or 20 years."

Not everyone agrees. Former CBC bureau chief Allouin believes something like the Bloc—a separatist counterpart on Parliament Hill—would likely have followed the end of the Maloney era in any case. Maloney's brand of accommodation of Quebec nationalities in federal politics was over. (After all, the Parti Québécois opposed Meech Lake, and Bouchard left before it was clear the deal would fail.) Still, politicians dare a pronounced and sustained line in support for sovereignty to the ac-

cord the country was doomed if the accord failed, he has made it a personal mission to make it more difficult for any future politician to raise the fear that a breakup is imminent. Dier's so-called clarity bill, which is expected to be passed as early as this week, sets firm rules: Ottawa will only recognize a clear majority of Quebecers voting "yes" on a clear question in any future secession referendum. The 1980 question on "sovereignty-association" and the 1995 question on "sovereignty-partnership" wouldn't make the grade. "Frankness and clarity are right for Canadian unity, not confusion and ambiguity," Dion declares. "Why? Because Quebecers want to stay Canadian. It's only with confusion that we create artificial support for separation."

These days, few observers are another referendum on the



Despite the trauma of Meech Lake, constitutional change has come anyway

corded. And while the No side won a narrow victory in the referendum, about 60 per cent of francophones voted Yes. Christian Bouchard, vice-president of the Montreal-based polling firm Groupe Léger & Léger, says the failure of Meech Lake was not as the rejection of "a symbol, or what had been built up as a major symbol, in Quebecers' minds—which was distinct society."

Yet the Meech Lake trauma has not paralyzed Confederation. In 1994, Ottawa negotiated a deal to transfer immigration powers to Quebec City. Other powers, notably over manpower training, have devolved in bilateral deals with the provinces. More recently, Charest has pursued his daring strategy of defining the rules for any future Quebec referendum, spelling out how a Yes victory might lead to secession negotiations. The mainstay of that strategy is Sébastien Dion, the Montreal professor Charest called on to serve as intergovernmental affairs minister.

Dion says he would never have needed to come to Ottawa had it not been for the chain of events Meech Lake set in motion. He thinks it would have been worthwhile to join the accord, especially the distinct society clause, as a "gesture of recognition" towards Quebec. But as for the dire warning

near horizon. Dion says the credit for that is largely due to Canada's solid economic performance, combined with the Liberal government's elimination of the federal deficit. Good times and black ink on Ottawa's books have forced Bouchard to drop his old rhetoric about how Canada was dragging Quebec towards economic calamity. Even some of those who staunchly supported Meech—and were angry over Charest's refusal to endorse the deal—credit him with having largely quashed the national-distinctness demons merely by governing competently. "Getting along and making that country work is as good policy as there is," McKenna says. "And that is not a view I would have had in 1990."

Today's combination of a high-octane economy and relative peace in federal-provincial relations is no guarantee that Quebec will remain quiet. Many francophone Quebecers remain scornful of Charest's government. Yet, despite the bitter feelings and lingering resentment over Meech Lake's fate, Dion believes the substance of the accord could be revived—if the federalist Liberals ousted the separatist PQ in a provincial election. "What was in Meech," he remarks, "now, I think, is achievable." Not likely, says Goy. "It's history," she moans, "but all of that stuff keeps bubbling around just under the surface. Don't try that again with us." Whether in the hopes of those who dream of a future rapprochement with Quebec, or in the wisdom of those who fear another plunge into the constitutional morass, Meech Lake, 10 years on, has not yet been flushed out of Canadian politics. ■

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Full Steam Ahead

By John Geddes

The gamble is, in a way, already paying off. When Gordon Manning scrapped the Reform name—and put his own leadership on the line—many thought he was taking one tick too many in an already improbable political quest. Now, more than two years after Manning proposed a new right-of-center party, and 12 weeks into the Canadian Alliance's first leadership race, the numbers are making him look good. The latest Elton Rosser/Associates Inc. poll of 1,482 Canadians shows the Alliance surging to 19 per cent support, up nine percentage points since March, the Conservatives down four points to nine per cent and the Liberals, while still far ahead, slipping by seven points to 49 per cent. Lastly, Prime Minister Jean Chrétien and Finance Minister Paul Martin

have luffed out—a rare sign the Alliance is for real. Chrétien skinned the new party for pondering to "the greed element of society," while Martin has charged that its flat-tax policy would make it "impossible for the federal government to operate." Even former prime minister Brian Mulroney got into the act with his first partisan speech since leaving office in 1993. Addressing a fund-raiser outside Toronto, Mulroney called upon Tories to start being seduced by the Alliance, which he labelled "the Reform Party in partyboots."

But the warnings from Manning's glib but right very well fall in another political trap. Many insiders no longer view him as the front-runner among three credible contenders creating the stretch run towards the June 28 vote

Manning with wife Sandra. Long (right) fighting to lead a party that has moved up nine percentage points since March

for the Alliance leadership. If nobody wins a majority on the first ballot, a run-off vote between the top two finishers is slated for July 8.) They now reckon that Sinclair Day, the eclectic Alberta cabinet minister, on leave from his job as Premier Ralph Klein's treasurer, has the momentum to win. And while Tim Long, the influential Ontario Tory maverig, has not caught fire, neither has he drifted into insignificance (a fourth candidate, B.C. MP Keith Martin, trails far behind). That leaves Manning talking tougher in what has been, at least so far, an unusually cordial leadership battle. On the one question that matters—why Alliance voters should choose him—he all but scoffed at his own lack of Ontario experience. "Do you think," he shot back in a *Maclean's* interview, "the public is going to throw the government out and give 190-plus seats to someone who has not sat in the federal Parliament at all?"

Yet the electoral track record that Manning touts as his big advantage may also be his worst problem. After all, he failed to sink the Reform party beyond its British Columbia and Alberta strongholds in the 1993 and 1997 elections. So his candidacy poses a nagging question to Alliance members—but then again, so do the odds of both of his main adversaries.

Isn't Tim just a backroom boy?

The argument that Manning has reached his potential—particularly in Ontario—is heard more clearly from the Long camp. In his weekly candidates' debate in Halifax, Long used his closing remarks to make a pitch for Manning's western upbringing to switch to him for the sake of winning. "I know from talking to many of you that you feel torn," he pleaded. "But on this decision, we have to make it on more than just the basis of personal or regional loyalties." Yet some observers say that if Manning faces an uphill battle in Ontario, Long faces at least as great a risk of alienating core support in Alberta and British Columbia. "I'm sure he's not going down well with people in the West," says University of Calgary political scientist Tim Flanagan, a onetime director of research for Reform. "If Long should happen to win, my guess is there would be a lot of people in the West who wouldn't be too keen on following him."

One reason is that Long is a Toronto businessman who earned his political stripes as a strategist at Ontario Premier Mike Harris's machine. But he rejects accusations that his Bay Street credentials are a negative, declaring, "I actually think the fact that I haven't been a professional politician is probably my strongest asset." And he boasts that his status as a top Harris strategist brings the Alliance



a bonus: his unparalleled network among Ontario Tory activists. Whether those troops would stick with the Alliance under another leader remains an open question.

Isn't Stock too burn-again to win?

As much as Long sometimes looks like he is trying hard to find his rhythm on the campaign trail, Day comes off as a natural. He has shown as one on the hustings on a par with the smoothest campaign-trail politicians. Still,

not all voters will be reassured about his background in a one-time evangelical preacher. And early in the campaign, he put those convictions front and centre by urging federal tax breaks for religious schools. That may have gone over well with the Alliance, which (intended Reform) large Christian-right block, but some observers wonder how it would fly with Canadian voters as a whole. "I don't think it's going to do him much harm in the leadership race," says Conrad Wins, president of the Ottawa-based Campus Inc. polling firm. "If he should win, it could do him harm in a federal election, depending on how he handles it."

More controversial than his school-funding stand is the support Day is getting from anti-abortion, conservative Christian groups, some of which have accused Long for having gone on his knees. Day distances himself from those remarks, but also suggests that what is happening is politics as usual. "I don't condone harmful or disrespectful comments," he told *Maclean's*. "People also understand that during a campaign things fly back and forth between supporters of one camp and another." Perhaps more compelling than Day's carefully worded response is the fact that he is supported by Alliance MP Ian MacLennan, who has a gay son and is an outspoken advocate of gay rights. Ultimately, Day will need that sort of moderate approval if he is to emerge as the leader to build what was once Reform into a broader political force.

Now's Preston had his chance?

Experience has won Manning a high level of respect in political circles, but not with all voters. A Campus poll found that he paces off more Canadians than either of his least-known challengers. Asked which potential leader would most dissuade them from voting for the Alliance, 36 per cent



Keith Martin: an unusually vocal backer

The new Canadian Alliance party is surging in opinion polls

To achieve electoral success, the leadership hopefuls must also appeal to moderates

and Manning, followed by 14 per cent who were most turned off by Long and 11 per cent who found Day most unappealing. With sixteen more Alliance members than any of Manning's downslide potential. "His biggest liability is that he has persuaded Alliance members that they should and can form the government," Winn says, "and they have named around and looked at him and said, 'Well, but maybe you're not the one who can deliver the votes.'"

But Manning argues that once an election is called, and voters are focused on picking a prime minister, his long tenure on the national stage will pay off. He warns that Day and Long would have to duplicate something like his own seven-year period in the opposition wilderness before they would have a real chance at unseating the Liberals. "The others are good, but they are going to have to go through this valley of getting accepted," he says. "If we want to go for the government this next time around, we've got to come for that now." Manning's message to Alliance members: Candidates



could see me in 24 Sussex Drive, but would send the other guys to Stormont for seating."

Which candidate gets to test his credibility with voters at large, though, depends on how Alliance members, numbering more than 100,000 at last count, answer the hard questions looming large over their party's first big choice. ■

The Alliance's unlikely peacekeeper

Rick Anderson, peacekeeper. To many Canadian Alliance members, the tide might well seem about to turn after its Premier Manning's top strategist. Anderson was long seen as the most divisive figure in the old Reform party. Only a year ago, the Reform caucus was going over a memo he wrote suggesting that up to 17 of the party's 59 MPs might not run in the next election—and that losing some of them would be a blessing. But that was then. These days, Anderson is co-chairing an "electoral readiness committee" for the Alliance, a group that brings together top organizers from the leadership camps. It was created largely as a forum for making sure any wrangling in the heat of the campaign doesn't turn into the sort of lingering rancor that a new political coalition just can't afford. "The Alliance," Anderson says, "is clearly at a more fragile stage than an established party."

That the Alliance has reached this stage at all is as much Anderson's doing as anyone's—with the exception of Man-

ning himself. Back in 1996, he met the then-Reform leader at an Ottawa dinner party and was won over. At the time, Anderson was a disenchanted Trudeau-



Anderson, pride in the
extreme business world

Liberal, his last flirtation with the Natural Government Party was to support Paul Martin's losing leadership bid in 1990 against Jean Chrétien. Anderson was also a top Ottawa consultant—unique in those circles in his willingness to join what was still a western protest movement. Over the next decade, with Manning, he pushed the party to accept expanding into Ontario as its main goal, earning the deep distrust of Reform diehards who feared he was moving their organization from its regional roots. "Rick was prepared to do what had to be done when other people

worried," says Edmonton Southwest Alliance MP Ian McChelland. "Prepared to say goodbye to Reform, to morph into the Alliance."

While Anderson backs Manning for the leadership, he won't strain hard to the Alliance no matter who wins. His co-chairman on the election committee, Rod Loe, a Stockwell, Day supporter and key adviser to Alberta Premier Ralph Klein, says he and Anderson share a pride in all the behind-the-scenes work that has gone into creating the Alliance. And these two backroom boys are determined not to let the men in front of the camera spoil their handiwork. "We've gone through to much together getting it

so where it is," Loe says, "we're not going to let something as silly as a leadership race get in the way of it now."

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'I Did What I Had to Do'

Brian Mulroney now divides his days between work as a senior partner with the Montreal law firm Ogilvy Renault and duties as a director of a variety of international companies. A decade after the collapse of the Meech Lake accord, and seven years after he resigned as prime minister, Mulroney says that, politically, he has "left my ghosts behind"—and seldom looks back. Looking around and relaxed, he made an exception recently as he spent two hours in the Montreal office discussing Meech and related issues with *Maclean's* Editor at Large Anthony Wilson-Smith.

Maclean's: Ten years after Meech, the divisions are still felt in the country. Do you have any second thoughts about how it turned out?

Mulroney: I feel quite secure about it all. I did what I had to do. You have to look at the context in which we acted. In 1982, Quebec was not a party to the patriation of the Constitution. In 1985, a federalist government was elected in Quebec. In 1986, the premier met in Edmonton and unanimously wanted a Quebec sound. The idea that we rushed into Meech at the last moment is nonsense.

**Brian Mulroney says
Canada would have been
better off with Meech**

Maclean's: How would Canada be different if the Meech accord had passed?

Mulroney: It would have given the federal prime minister a lethal counterpunch to the chief separatist argument that the 1982 patriation of the Constitution is illegitimate, because it does not have Quebec as a signatory.

We saw what happened when Mr. Bouchard turned his gaze on Mr. Chretien on this issue in the 1995 referendum. We saw what happened when Mr. Bouchard held up a copy of that 1982 document and pointed out the absence of Quebec. The separatist rose again, the federalist vote sank.

Meech would have changed that. It would have said, 'This has been fixed, we have a signature, the country is united.' Technically and strategically, there is no denying that our Constitution is (written of the signature of) one of our most important provinces, and of one of the two great found-

ing peoples unique of this country.

Maclean's: But opponents always insisted that Meech would have confirmed special rights upon Quebec by declaring it a distinct society.

Mulroney: I always cite former chief justice Brian Dickson on the issue of recognizing Quebec as a distinct society. He said, and I quote him directly, that "entrenching formal recognition of Quebec's distinctive character in the Constitution would not involve a significant departure from the existing practice in our courts." So much for the idea of judicial calisthenics.

Maclean's: On a personal level, you suffered a painful blow when *Leveson Demanded* gave your cabinet in May 1990, and renounced federalism, ending a friendship of some 30 years. As retrospect, how do you feel about his actions and intentions?

Mulroney: It's something that requires a fair amount of explanation and, to be fair, a reasonable amount of nuance. But one fact is incontrovertible. In March, 1990, Mr. Bouchard spoke to a meeting of the Quebec caucus, and said, 'I urge you all to remain loyal to the Prime Minister who has fought so hard for this. Let's all see what happens on June 23, but until then, let's deserve our support, and thank our loyalty.'

That was in March. He left in May. His argument was that Meech had changed. But compare the document at the time he left with the one of the 1987 agreement: not a comma had been changed. And never was there even an ounce of discussion of Meech.

Maclean's: When you look back at the final failure of the accord, what is your view of the role of *Clyde Wells*?

Mulroney: Mr. Wells signed a formal constitutional instrument before the people of Canada committing his province



to either hold a referendum on Meech, or a vote in the house of assembly. He did not attach conditions to it; the commitment was unequivocal. He cancelled the vote—he disavowed his signature. He'll have to live with the consequences.

Maclean's: And Manitoba premier Gary Filmon?

Mulroney: I have no comment on him. He and Mr. Wells can explain themselves to history.

Maclean's: As premier of New Brunswick,

Frank McKenna began the process of questioning Meech after it had been signed upon.

Mulroney: Robert (Bourassa) always felt McKenna was one of the people principally responsible for the breakdown of Meech. I feel McKenna realizes now that was the mistake of his life. But he was right enough to recognize that, and to make up for it in the future.

Maclean's: Pierre Trudeau also played a key role in mobilizing public opinion against the agreement.

Wells: Did you feel you had no intention?

Mulroney: I don't know what drove him. A very prominent Liberal minister once said that what Mr. Trudeau disliked was that I succeeded where he failed. His ideological objections baffle me because the conditions of Meech were consistent with past constitutional discourse. He had been involved in it.

Mr. Trudeau is noticeably perturbed the accord as a concession to Quebec. He made a very personal attack on all of us—the prime minister and the premiers. And due to the man who will go down in history as having made the most sweeping concession in history—the notwithstanding clause

In his office, Mulroney and Wells 'can explore themselves in history'

that allows provinces to opt out of Supreme Court rulings.

Maclean's: Which sides the fact that Mr. Bourassa said that clause in 1988 to override a Supreme Court judgment that would have allowed bilingual signs in Quebec.

Mulroney: That was a mistake by Mr. Bourassa, and I told him so. I told him the Supreme Court judgment was absolutely correct. He said, 'No, I'm doing it using a constitutional provision provided by Mr. Trudeau.' I said that is a wrong gesture to make, and it will create great unhappiness in the rest of the country—in it did.

Maclean's: In the wake of that, some say it might have made more sense to then fold your tent and let Meech die.

Mulroney: A leader must lead. The way things after Bourassa did that in 1988 would have been to abandon Quebec. But it would not have been the right thing. The irony was that people came to blame Meech for Mr. Bourassa's actions on this issue—when the notwithstanding clause was a condition created by Mr. Trudeau.

Maclean's: Publicly, Jean Chretien, then and now, has generally been reticent on the issue of Meech.

Wells: Did you think of his role in 1990?

Mulroney: I think Mr. Chretien played a very significant role in the failure of the accord. I know he likes to say I opened up a whole can of worms unnecessarily [in initiating constitutional talks], but he didn't always feel that way. I would point to an interview he gave in 1984 to *Le Devoir* in which he said that the new prime minister had a "historic opportunity" to fix the Constitution. That was the man who later told Canadians that if Meech failed, life would just go on as it had previously. And that is the same man who, five years later, with a week left before a referendum vote, broke down in tears in front of his caucus and told them he feared he had lost the country. And finally, this is the man who has since moved so substantially most of the key provisions of Meech, though he is not able to constitutionalize them.

But then, we shouldn't be surprised by that. Mr. Chretien opposed free trade, NAFTA, the GST and privatization initiatives, and then reversed field on all of 'em. So why should

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What Matters to Canadians

Cover

he be any different with Meetch? Macleans: *You had a column that brought together Quebec nationalists and western Canadians.*

Is that available in the present political context?

Mulroney: First, I would point out that in 1984, we won over federalists in Quebec first from the Liberals, and nationalists came later. All polls showed that the greatest shift in support in Quebec came straight from the Liberals to us. But when I look at Reform, or whatever they call themselves right now, it's clear what they think of the idea—they are now understanding that to win, they have to become more progressive conservatives. They are also understanding that they have to elect people in French Canada, reach out from west to east, and build a coalition. Well, if that's the goal, that's what the Conservative party has always been and done, so why not stay with them? Macleans: *What if the argument that nationalists were a spent force in Quebec, so it would be better to just let the present quiet prevail?*

Mulroney: This can't last. That argument is precisely the one that Mr. Chrétien made in 1990, and look what happened. I'm not suggesting we rush into anything. You'll never get a deal with a sovereignist government. That's why we made our deal with Mr. Bourassa.

I'm not here to push for Meetch. I've come to understand you just do what you can and what you believe in, and in history judge. In my case, history will note that my government once obtained the signatures of all premiers and the prime minister on constitutional agreements (including the Charlottetown accord of 1992), and that's something I'm very proud of.

Some day, there will be a new prime minister not bound by my baggage, someone who can make a fresh start. He or she will invite the country to dream a bold dream for the future. Part of that golden dream for Canada surely has to be a formula that makes the people of Quebec signatories and full partners in the Canadian Confederation. ■

Automotive Marketplace

ONTARIO



Car Prices In Canada

Dennis DesRosiers



is one of the biggest issues in the Canadian automotive industry is vehicle affordability or, more precisely, lack of affordability. At a transaction price level, it takes about 29 weeks of short-box family income to buy a passenger car in Canada versus only about 23 weeks in the United States. In Canada the trend has been towards vehicles becoming less affordable, whereas in America, vehicles have become more affordable.

However, what many industry executives, most consumers and almost all politicians do not understand is that at the Manufacturers' Suggested Retail Price (MSRP) level, vehicle prices in Canada are actually significantly lower than in the United States (adjusted for exchange rates).

For this article, I did an analysis of base model MSRPs for the most popular vehicles purchased by consumers in Canada. This analysis took the top three or four selling (in most cases two imports, two domestic) vehicles in each passenger car and light truck segment. Fifty-two vehicles were examined accounting for 71 per cent of Canadian sales in 1999, a very representative sample.

The average passenger car, on a sales-weighted basis, was priced \$5,885 or 12 per cent lower in Canada than south of the border. But that price also reflects the fact Canadian consumers purchase smaller vehicles. On a non-sales weighted basis the difference was \$3,595 lower, or 13 per cent, which is still significant. The average light truck on a sales-weighted basis was priced \$3,040 lower in Canada than in the United States, or 10

[illegible]

Canadian consumers are also more conservative than

Representative analysis is at the MSRP level. Actual transaction prices in Canada — the price in the driveway — are closer to American transaction prices because Canadian vehicles are highly taxed. Base GST and PST reach 15 per cent or higher in most provinces compared to under 10 per cent across most states. Canada also has a plethora of additional, and I believe ineffectual, costs in many provinces, such as the air conditioning tax, a tire tax, a battery tax, a fuel economy tax, a luxury vehicle tax, etc. The total tax load on a vehicle in Canada could be as much as twice as high as in the United States, so most of the MSRP advantage provided by the car companies is eaten by government.

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1 THE WTO DECISION ON THE AUTOPACT: The Autopact is currently being challenged before the WTO. The argument of its supporters is that higher tariffs have put them at a competitive disadvantage in a very tight market. This has led to calls to eliminate the tariff on new vehicles for the benefit of consumers. The theory is that since there is a 6.1 per cent tariff on some imported vehicles, Autopact members can "jerk up the tariff." This MSPR analysis sets into question that theory. If vehicle prices are already four to as much as 21 per cent lower in Canada, depending on the market segment, it is hard to believe that eliminating the tariff would lead to even lower prices for consumers. The vehicle companies almost certainly must be selling many vehicles at or near production cost. A more logical response to a lower car

2 DEALER PROFIT MARGINS: Dealers are constantly telling consumers that their new vehicle margins are being squeezed by their vehicle companies. But with these price levels the manufacturers' profit margins must also be squeezed as much, if not more. Quite frankly, the car companies just do not have the ability to provide better dealer margins. This is market driven, not some sort of corporate conspiracy against the dealer body. You can't share what's not there.

3 VEHICLE ALLOCATIONS: One of the hidden joys of each vehicle company president is to fight with head office for vehicle allocation for Canada. High vehicles are very difficult to get at any time, but I believe this is more so in Canada than in the United States. Here the problem extends across the whole range of products. Given these **PERFITS**, most vehicles in Canada would yield \$2,000 to \$4,000 less in marginal profit



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1980s. The primary reason was higher costs. Canadian politicians can thank American consumers for buying Canadian-built vehicles and keeping thousands of Canadians at work. It sure wasn't Canadian consumers who kept those auto workers employed. But we can't count on the American market forever. We need lower costs on vehicles in this country.

7 CONSUMER PERCEPTIONS OF DEALER PROFITS: Most Canadian consumers are highly influenced by American media and trends south of the border. For instance, they read that thousands of dollars can be saved by buying a vehicle via the Internet. But most of these stories are American examples and in the United States, prices are much higher than in Canada, which allows for more discounting. Consumers believe similar savings are available in Canada but this analysis indicates that may not be possible. We know that one of the most popular Web sites visited by Canadian consumers is Kelley Blue Book (kbb.com), which provides both MSRP and dealer invoice pricing. But this is an American Web site with all carier in American — not Canada.

- **dollar:** Consumers need to understand that they can't just take an American price and multiply by the exchange rate. This does not work.

8 AFFORDABILITY OF CANADA-SPECIFIC VEHICLES: In the past there were a number vehicles made only for the Canadian market. Examples would be the Mazda MX3 and Procidia, the Nissan Pulsar, Toyota Tercel, etc. With these lower MSRs, there is just no profit in such cars unless the car companies can also sell them in the United States as well. Lower MSRs ultimately mean the demise of made-for-Canada vehicles.

It started out by discussing affordability issues facing consumers. This analysis leads me to believe that we should start to look at affordability in a different light. Clearly, consumers and other critics of the auto sector who believe the affordability problem rests with the vehicle companies are wrong. The current problem rests with Canadian taxes not the vehicle companies. ■

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Big tobacco changes its tune

After years of denials, spokesmen for Canada's cigarette industry appeared before a Senate committee hearing on youth anti-smoking legislation and acknowledged that their products are dangerous and addictive. They also said they supported Bill S-20, which would raise the cost of cigarettes and put the extra money towards anti-smoking initiatives, and suggested that youths under the age of 18 be prohibited from possessing tobacco.

Tobin under fire

Phil Fontaine, grand chief of the Assembly of First Nations, accused Newfoundland Premier Brian Tobin of perpetrating misecocypa after he said alcoholism is a problem among the aboriginal leadership in Labrador. "He should be dealing with mass poverty, poor housing, high unemployment," Fontaine said. "He should be stabilizing those communities, not blaming the victims."

Officially cleared

Police in Winnipeg officially exonerated Thomas Sophonow for the 1981 murder of Winnipeg teen Barbara Skoppell. He underwent three trials and two convictions and spent almost four years in prison before being released on appeal in December, 1985—but was never formally cleared. Manitoba has promised an inquiry into the case.

More care for the dying

A Senate subcommittee report recommended more funding for palliative care in Canada, including special benefits paid to Canadians who take time off work to care for dying relatives. "Canadians are still dying in needless pain and without adequate palliative care," said committee chairwoman Senator Sharon Carstairs.

Dangerous offender

John Paul Roby, a former inmate at Maple Leaf Gardens in Toronto, was declared a dangerous offender. Roby, who was at the heart of the Gordian sex scandal, was convicted in 1997 of molesting 26 boys and one girl over a span of three decades and will be jailed indefinitely.



Another fatal accident in 'Carnage Alley'

An Ontario Provincial Police sergeant, Ming On, 38, was killed and five other people were injured when a truck slammed into three OPP vehicles and a car on Highway 401, Canada's busiest. The accident took place near Chatham, on a stretch of the road nicknamed "Carnage Alley." Meanwhile, an impact began into the Sept. 3, 1999, resolve pickup that killed eight and injured 45 nearby.

Compensation for tainted water

The Ontario government promised compensation for residents of Walkerton, Ont., who are still struggling with a deadly E. coli outbreak. Attorney General Jim Flaherty, flanked by three other Conservative cabinet ministers, had few details, but he told a news conference in the farming community 150 km northwest of Toronto the plan should provide help to businesses and individuals for their "pain and suffering." Up to 2,000 people have become ill, seven have died and four other deaths are under investigation as a result of the contamination of the town's water supply.

In mid-May, Flaherty said he did not know how much the province would ultimately pay, but added that insurance and Ontario budget surplus would cover the cost. "Obviously, it's going to cost millions of dollars," he said. "This is about doing the right thing. It isn't about money."

There is, however, one catch in clearing the money—people must waive

their individual right to pursue class-action suits. At least six legal firms have stated they plan to launch class-action suits on behalf of residents. And while some called the compensation package generous, others in the town of 5,000 said it was too little, too late.

Two days earlier, the government announced a special \$300,000 fund to help residents, whose schools had been closed since May 23, to complete their school year outside Walkerton. Neither announcement mapped the opposition parties from continuing to lambast the Tories, claiming government cutbacks played a role in the tragedy. They pointed to an environment ministry report showing the ministry had been warned in 1997 that closing its water-testing labs could lead to serious health problems. Meanwhile, officials refused details about a building-to-building disinfection program, which could take up to seven weeks before the water will be safe to drink. The province also named Ontario Court of Appeal judge Dennis O'Connor to head the inquiry, expected to start in the fall.

Washington's tough sell

Clinton pushes missile defence, but Moscow doesn't like what it hears

By Andrew Phillips in Washington

American voters, accustomed to demagogues, don't care much about the rest of the world anymore. With a big, money-obsessed country facing few obvious threats abroad, they don't have to. But you'd hardly know it from the way their leaders—and would-be leaders—are talking these days. Suddenly, along with post-Cold War sundries like education and health care, the politicians are talking about issues that seem to be dragged out from the attic of a bygone era: arms control, missile defence and "mutual assured destruction," or MAD.

President Bill Clinton was at it last week, trying to persuade Russian new president, Vladimir Putin, to go along with Washington's drive to build a controversial new shield against hostile missiles. He didn't succeed. After two days of talks in Moscow, the Russian leader reaffirmed his country's strong opposition to the proposed U.S. national missile defence plan. The system would violate a 1972 arms control treaty between Washington and Moscow. More important for the Russians, it would threaten the carefully negotiated balance of nuclear terror worked out over decades between the two countries—a balance that traditional strategists see as crucial to global security. The United States may face new threats from so-called rogue states like Iraq and North Korea, Putin acknowledged. But, he added, "we're again having a cure that is worse than the disease."

That reasoning is shared by many

U.S. allies—including Canada. Europeans worry that Washington might set off a new arms race by developing a defence against incoming missiles, thus prompting other countries (notably China) to strengthen their nuclear arsenals as a counter-measure. In Ottawa, Foreign Minister Lloyd Axworthy echoes that logic, arguing that NMD would violate "preventing an arms race that could result in the expansion of nuclear weapons." For those critics, better the familiarity of MAD—a peace based on the ability of nuclear adversaries to annihilate each other—than a leap into an unknown world where such weapons might actually be rendered impotent.

That is the premise, however far-fetched, of missile defence. The current NMD system under development by Washington is a limited plan designed to defend, at first, against a handful of missiles fired from North Korea. If Clinton gives the go-ahead this fall, work will begin in earnest on that system, to be based in Alaska and aimed at knocking a hostile missile out of the sky by 2005. It would be expanded later to protect the entire United States, as well as Canada and other U.S. allies. Problems abound: no one is sure such a system can be made to work, the cost (an estimated \$88 billion) is exorbitant, and many experts question the seriousness of the "rogue state" threat.

But the debate has spilled into question the old virtues of the arms-control debate, worked out over the four decades of the Cold War. In a groundbreaking speech in late May, the man

With Putin, Russia's new leader says the cure is worse than the disease

who will be the Republican nominee for president, Texas Gov. George W. Bush, proposed both a more ambitious form of missile defence and bigger-than-planned cuts in stockpiles of nuclear weapons. U.S. strategists, he argued, has not caught up to new developments—the death of the Soviet Union, the inability of Russia to maintain its existing nuclear arsenal, and new threats from hostile countries (notably North Korea, Iraq and Iran). And U.S. security needs no longer rest on keeping thousands of warheads ready to launch at a moment's notice. "Almost a decade after the end of the Cold War," Bush said, "our nuclear policy still resides in the old ideas of the past."

Even the modest version of missile defence proposed by Clinton (and the Democratic ticket nominee, Vice-President Al Gore) has put U.S. allies on edge. Top American officials have been pressing Ottawa, for example, to drop its opposition to NMD and agree that it could eventually be co-located by NORAD, the 42-year-old joint Canada-U.S. continental defence system. Now it is clear that if Bush wins the presidency in November, he is prepared to go much further and break decisively with traditional thinking on arms control. With Canada and other U.S. allies publicly wedded to the orthodoxy of MAD, that could well mean more American pressure on Ottawa to change its views—or at least get out of the way. ■

Mugabe's 'final revolution'

Calling it the "final phase of our revolution," Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe said white farmers would be killed if they resisted blacks taking over their land. Led by women of the country's war for independence, squatters have so far occupied about 1,500 farms. Mugabe said the remaining 850 white-owned farms would be seized without compensation.

A deadly blast in Sri Lanka

Sri Lankan police extended emergency rule for a month and detained 19 men after an alleged Tamil Tiger suicide bomb killed 25 people in a suburb of Colombo. Among the dead was the country's Industrial Development Minister C. V. Goonesena. The bombing came on the country's first-ever War Heroes Day.

Athens assassination

The Greek terrorist group November 17, responsible for 22 political slayings in the past 25 years, claimed responsibility for yet another after British defence attaché Brig. Stephen Saunders was assassinated in Athens. The killing came in an awkward time for Greece, which is trying to counter its image of political instability before hosting the 2004 Summer Olympic Games.

Britain leaves Sierra Leone

Britain renounced Sierra Leone that it was not abandoning the tiny West African country even as 800 British marines prepared to leave. The special troops arrived in early May after rebels captured 500 UN peacekeepers. The UN soldiers have since been released and 12,000 peacekeepers are now in control of many parts of the country, although civil war fighting continues.

A huge Congo death toll

More than 1.7 million people have died in the 22-month civil war raging in the Democratic Republic of Congo. According to a study by the International Rescue Committee, a New York City-based humanitarian group, since the war began in August, 1998, thousands of people have died every day from war-related causes, including hunger and disease.



Assad with Clinton in April: 'innocence is a just and desirable goal'

The death of a 'Lion'

Syria's Hafez Assad had one crowning achievement—he retained power for 30 years in a region where even brutal dictators like him fall far short of such political longevity. In so doing, Assad—who died Saturday at 69 after a lengthy illness—brought stability to a nation that plays a key role in any Middle East peace settlement and that had been plagued by coups before his bloodless push in 1970.

The inevitable struggle to succeed Assad will be deeply watched to see whether the elusive goal of an overall Arab-Israeli peace will become easier or even more challenging. One of Assad's sons, Bashar, 36, is the leading contender to succeed his father, but it is unclear whether he commands sufficient support in the powerful military. A heavily-trained eye doctor, Bashar was his father's chosen heir and recently led an anti-corruption drive that targeted high-ranking officials.

Despite his three decades in power, Hafez Assad failed to realize two long-standing dreams. He served as co-commander of the Arab world and, closer to home, wanted to oversee the return of the Golan Heights, which Syria lost to Israel in the 1967 war when Assad was defence minister. While Israel has recently agreed in principle to return most of the disputed land, peace talks between the two adversaries have stalled over a small but strategically significant section that the Jewish state insists on retaining. Assad had been equally insistent on including all of Syria's pre-1967 territory.

Once condemned by the United States as a leading supporter of terrorism, Assad ingratiated himself to the West by providing a few thousand troops to the 1991 Gulf War effort against Iraq. After the war, billions of dollars of western aid poured into Syria to prop up its faltering economy.

Known as "The Lion of Damascus," the inclusive Assad retained power through a Soviet-style regime, complete with a stiff, one-party police. He suppressed over several coup attempts and in 1982 put down an uprising by leveling the city of Hama, killing as few as 10,000 people. Still, western leaders were gracious in their tributes to Syria's strongman. "We had our differences, but I always respected him," said President Bill Clinton. Added Prime Minister John Major, who met with him in Damascus in April: "I was struck by his commitment to the search for a just, durable and comprehensive peace."



ing advantage of market opportunities that Microsoft has been slow to exploit. Corporate rulers who once feared its wrath are striking deals with upstart rivals. Many young stars were wiser than it is a dinosaur. And its own attempt to leap from the age of the desktop PC to the new frontier of the Internet is under a serious cloud. In short, a busy week.

How did it come to this? By last week, Jackson's final order in an anti-monopoly suit that lasted just over two years came as no surprise. In two earlier rulings, on matters of fact and matters of law, he had laid out his view that Microsoft had misled 110-year-old U.S. antitrust laws by using its near-monopoly in personal computer operating systems to bully competitors. In fact, Jackson's findings were so close to the allegations put forward by the U.S. Justice department that it was widely predicted he would also adopt the government's suggested remedies, dividing Microsoft into two separate companies and imposing so-called rules of conduct to prevent it from abusing its power before the breakup is completed.

But though the penalty was not unexpected, neither was it unavoidable. What began as the main issue in the trial—the battle between Microsoft and Netscape Communications Corp. to dominate the market for Internet browser software—was not irrelevant by the end. Netscape was vanquished by Microsoft, then bought out by America Online Inc. Microsoft, say many analysts who have followed the case, could have compromised early by agreeing to separate its Internet Explorer browser from its Windows operating system, and avoided Jackson's penalty. But Gates and other senior Microsoft executives dug in, insisted they had done nothing wrong—and lost de-

Gates with wife Melinda in Seattle announcing a \$1 billion scholarship fund, depicts

cisely. And back in 1995, when the government was still just investigating Microsoft's business practices, Gates boldly proclaimed that "this outcome thing will blow over."

But as the investigation turned into a formal charge and trial, the company steadily maintained its innocence and insisted that the government was trying to stifle a 190-year-old law in an industry it did not understand. The eventual result: a judicial Waterloo for Microsoft. "Separating the browser and the operating system would have done no damage at all," says Bob Ertel, an analyst with Giga Information Group Inc. in San Jose, Calif. "They could have accepted a parking ticket. But they came out with the death penalty."

Not quite death, and not just yet. Microsoft said it will appeal Jackson's verdict, and immediately moved to suspend the reactive rules of conduct imposed on it while its appeal is heard. The Justice department indicated that it wants the case to go directly to the U.S. Supreme Court, a move allowed in some important antitrust cases. But Microsoft would prefer that it proceed to the federal appeals court for the District of Columbia, where it has won favorable rulings in the past. Either way, the case will drag on for at least another year, possibly two—and by then the political climate in Washington could be quite different. Republican George W. Bush has vowed debates about the wisdom of the government's case against Microsoft. If he wins the White House in November, his appointees at the Justice department would likely not press the case so hard. "With a Bush administration you could see a settlement offer on terms that Microsoft might find congenial," says Robert Levy, senior fellow at the Cato Institute, a Washington think tank.

Splitting the company, if it comes to that, would be an unusual task. Previous landmark antitrust cases that led to breaking up big monopolies—namely Standard Oil in 1911 and AT&T in 1984—involved companies that could be divided largely along geographical lines. Microsoft, with 50 per cent of its work done at its headquarters in Redmond, Wash., does not lend itself easily to such a division. But Jackson found the government's recommendation that Microsoft be split into two new firms.

One, dubbed Ops Co. in government documents, would produce the Windows operating system and Windows-related systems for hand-held computing devices. The other, dubbed Apps Co., would be responsible for all other Microsoft products, notably its highly successful applications such as Word, Excel, Outlook and PowerPoint, as well as its Explorer browser. Executives of both new companies would be forbidden from working for or owning shares in the other; neither new company could cut special deals with the other for the 10-year life of Jackson's order.

At the same time, if the judge's ruling is carried out, Microsoft will have to abide by a host of so-called conduct remedies designed to prevent it from imposing its will illegally on other companies. Jackson ordered it to stop discriminating against computer makers who support rival products; it must charge basically the same price for Windows to all customers, instead of cutting special deals with manufacturers who agree not to install other operating

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Splitting Microsoft

A U.S. judge orders the software legend divided, but founder Bill Gates vows he'll appeal—and win

By Andrew Phillips in Washington

In the end, the seemingly irresistible force ran smack into an immovable object. The force: Bill Gates, chairman of Microsoft Corp. and also-god, defiant to the end, denouncing the "unwarranted and unjustified intrusion" into the company he built into a cathedral of software expertise. The object: Thomas B. (Toby) Jackson, U.S. federal judge and con-

servative Republican, issuing the judicial equivalent of an up-close to the jaw. Microsoft, he declared, is an "unmistakable" monopoly that deserves the ultimate penalty—so be split in two and forced to comply with a host of restrictions on its aggressive business practices.

The breakup may never happen. Months—perhaps years—of legal appeals remain to further enrich lawyers on both sides. But even as Gates himself was vowing to fight on and calling Jackson's ruling "the first day of the rest of this case," it was clear that Microsoft had already been humbled—in large part as a result of its own actions. Once the unchallenged ruler of its domain, it is no longer the most valuable company in history. Investors have beaten down its stock by 40 per cent in just a little over five months (it closed last week at \$68.88). Newly emboldened competitors are circling, re-

Ops and Apps

Judge Jackson ordered that Microsoft be broken into two separate companies—one devoted to its operating systems software and the other handling the rest of the firm's activities, especially its application business.

Ops Co.

- Windows operating systems



Windows shopping in Tokyo; MSN Web site, meanwhile

Apps Co.

- Microsoft Word
- Internet Explorer
- Outlook Express
- MSN.com
- Expedia travel Web site



As far back as 1995, Gates proclaimed that 'this antitrust thing will blow over'

systems on their computers. It must allow PC makers to remove applications like browsers and e-mail programs from Windows, disclose technical information that would allow other companies' products to work with Windows, and allow PC makers who install Windows to modify the start-up sequence and desktop in order to remove Microsoft icons and other features. Those measures are aimed at stopping Microsoft from turning the dominance of Windows into a lock on other applications.

Already, that dominance is starting to crumble, in part because of the lawsuit. Major PC suppliers such as Compaq and Gateway, which once installed only Microsoft products, have signed deals to produce computers that run on the open Linux system. That will provide more choice for consumers—though perhaps at the cost of balkanizing standards and making it harder for companies to communicate with each other. More importantly, Microsoft has failed to extend its dominance from the world of desktop PCs to fast-emerging Internet-based systems, such as hand-held computing devices like the Palm personal organizers and its rivals, wireless e-mail, and so-called hosted software that is accessed over the Internet rather than bought on CDs and loaded into computers.

Microsoft hopes to enter that exploit-



Judge Jackson leaving the court after giving his ruling leaving an upsurge

Another concern is that Microsoft may suffer a significant brain drain as its legal woes continue and its market dominance erodes. If the company is finally split, say analysts, the most creative and ambitious engineers and software developers might well abandon the operating system firm for the new Appa Co., which would have more potential for innovation. Others might quit the Microsoft empire altogether. In fact, the company finds it increasingly difficult to attract the brightest young talent. "That's already shattering of the amateur dream," says Douglas Dorn, who heads Microsoft for Sun Microsystems Inc. in Kirkland, Wash., a near Redmond. "It's just not as exciting a place to work for those who want to be at the forefront of innovation."

Rise and fall



A pitched battle

May, 1995

Bill Gates sends "right-hand man" memo, informing top executives the company's priority is the Internet.

September, 1997

Microsoft releases its Internet browser, Explorer 4.0, to compete with Netscape's Navigator.

May, 1998

Justice department and 20 states (later 13) file two antitrust suits against Microsoft.

October, 1998

Federal District Court Judge Thomas Penfield Jackson begins hearing antitrust trial in Washington.

November, 1999

Jackson rules in a preliminary finding that Microsoft harmed consumers by exploiting its dominance in operating systems to limit competition.

April, 2000

Jackson finds that Microsoft violated antitrust laws.

June, 2000

Jackson orders that Microsoft be broken into two separate units.

ing market is a major way with its Next Generation Windows Services, or NGWS. It was set to announce the project at a splashy ceremony on June 1, but postponed it because of Jackson's impending ruling. The launch is now set for June 22, but it will inevitably be overshadowed by legal issues. NGWS is expected to be a far-reaching Internet strategy that would connect a wide range of devices, from PCs to home appliances. Few details are publicly known, but it may even further blur the distinction between operating systems and applications—the very thing that Jackson's ruling opposes. As a result, says Fidelity of Capital Information Group, NGWS "will be all-burn. I don't see how they can execute it with this cloud over them."

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The stylish skies

Roots links up with an airline entrepreneur to snare the business traveller



By Deirdre McMurdy

By Canadian corporate standards, it was a splashy affair. Last week, at the flagship Roots store in Toronto's Bloor City Centre, guests perched on exquisite leather folding chairs, sipped champagne and mingled with celebrities like actor Don Aykroyd and singer Rhinoceros. Nestle of Jacksonville, listening to some morning news, the owners of the Roots Canada retail chain, best known for its distinctive leather goods, were investing in and launching a new upscale Canadian airline. The service, called Roots Air, will launch flights across Canada in November, targeting business-class passengers who are looking for an alternative to Air Canada. "We believe that travel is all about getting to your destination in style," said Roots co-founder Michael Budman. "Take all your old notions about air travel and get ready for something that's completely new."

To underscore the airline's commitment to style, Budman and his long-time business partner, Don Green, invited their wives on-stage to model the posh leather jackets designed for Roots Air flight attendants. Aykroyd donned a green leather bomber jacket that will be standard issue for pilots. He then joked about the potential for catalogue sales, before launching a miniature Roots Air jet. "The Roots brand," Aykroyd said in reference to the company's ubiquitous logo, "has just grown wings."

Bearing proudly from the address was a scrapping silver-haired man

named Russell Payton. Although the "Roots boys," as Budman, 54, and Green, 51, are known in retail circles, dominated the party, the venture is actually Payton's project, with Roots Canada Ltd. taking a 20-per-cent stake. The three partners are betting that Roots' strong brand recognition, combined with Payton's airline operating experience, will create a powerful market force. But that said, they make an unusual trio. Budman and Green are as slick as Payton is down to earth.

For a man who has spent most of his career in an industry threatened by high flyers, Payton remains resolutely focused on the slow and steady approach to business. The founder, chairman and chief executive of Skywest Airlines Inc. of Toronto, Payton has spent 15 years gradually expanding his company from its beginnings in the unglamorous aircraft support and maintenance business. Now, he is finally ready—reinforced by his new partners' established brand image—to take on Air Canada in the lucrative business-travel market. "We've been

waiting and watching, but the opportunity wasn't there while Air Canada and Canadian were beating each other to a pulp," he explains.

Certainly he is not alone in taking advantage of Air Canada's merger woes, which currently include a breakdown in its negotiations with its 2,200 pilots. In April, at the opposite end of the market spectrum, Canjet Airlines announced plans to offer a new discount air service, based in Halifax. Canjet has not yet revealed when it will take off, but at a recent transportation conference in Ottawa, several industry watchers agreed that the sudden increase in domestic airline capacity may soon claim one of Canada's charter airlines as a casualty.

On the subject of timing, Payton says he is the first to admit that November is a contraction period to launch Roots Air's service, because it's a seasonally slow time for most airlines. Still, that fits perfectly with his methodical approach. "Because it's a relatively quiet time of year," he says, "we figured it's a good time to begin our flight and gradually build up our ability to cope with higher val-



Payton: the airline operator wants Roots to provide the glamour while he handles the basics—keeping planes in the air

ues of traffic." At the same time, he says, he hopes to restore some of the "fun and flair" to air travel.

That's where the marketing savvy of Budman and Green enter the equation. Over the past 27 years, they have built their retail empire into a privately owned, international style force, with 140 stores in five countries, two factories, 2,600 employees and about \$250 million in annual revenue. Budman and Green have already bolstered their public profile by hobnobbing with celebrities and producing custom merchandise for movies, television shows and sports teams, including Canada's Olympic team. Roots recently announced plans for a \$105-million expansion, which may include an initial public offering.

Payton is going to be just as busy. While he has been gratified by strong initial interest from Bay Street—the company is seeking about \$40 million to cover initial financing costs—Payton still has much to do to capture his two main target markets: business travellers within Canada and foreign air travellers looking for domestic flights to complete their journeys.

Payton admits, however, that he is daunted by the prospect of challenging

Air Canada. He must, for instance, set up a complex back-office infrastructure for ticketing and scheduling, and hire 1,000 people over the next three years. The company must also lease a fleet of Airbus jets and convince them for expanded executive-class service, but one source of personal confidence is his already extensive experience with the executive-service market. One of Skywest's core businesses is the operation of more than 20 corporate jets for Canada's largest companies. "When you're dealing with the top guys, everything has to be just right," he says.

Payton, 56, did not enter Skywest with the dream of taking on a major airline. That vision, he says, has "gradually evolved over time." He became fascinated by flying as an engineering student at Queen's University and after obtaining an MBA at the University of Western Ontario in 1970, he got his pilot's licence. After working in the airline industry on managerial positions for several years, he decided to strike out on his own in 1986.

For five years, he focused exclusively on fueling and servicing aircraft for other operators. "A lot of people are attracted by the romance of flying and they don't like to bother with the basics,

like refuelling and maintenance," notes Payton. "We knew that to build a solid foundation for a business, we had to understand all the dull, mundane underpinnings." In 1993, Payton expanded Skywest to Toronto and soon added charter service to tropical and European destinations. Leasing several Airbus A-320s and A-330s for over \$450,000 each a month, he used his strong cash flow to finance steady growth. Skywest now employs about 600 non-union employees. "It's been a slow, undermanned process," says Payton. "We've plowed every cent back into the business for 15 years."

One of the greatest challenges he focuses on preserving the company's strong service culture, he says. "I don't have a problem understanding the need to delegate, to understand the life cycle of a business organization," he says. "But one thing I won't relinquish is shaping our internal culture." He takes that task so seriously, he is even considering donating the snappy green leather pilot's jacket, and returning regularly to the cockpit of a Roots Air plane to stay close to crew and clients. Unlike his new partners from Roots, that's probably as close to being a high-flyer as Russell Payton will want to get. ■

Fare game

Guess what? Airline competition brings down fares. Confirmation of that lies with the following conclusion: over last week in a Statistics Canada study of domestic air ticket prices over 15 years. Since 1994, prices in the West have gone down, while those in the East have gone up. The big reason: the advent of western-based discount airlines such as Westjet

Percentage change in average domestic airfares from 10 major Canadian cities, 1984 to 1998



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Corel slashes workforce

Faced with a cash crunch after a merger with a California software developer fell through, Ottawa-based Corel Corp. said it will cut its workforce by 25 per cent, using layoffs, attrition and contract terminations to eliminate 320 employees. Founder Michael Cowpland also said he will forgo his \$199,324 salary to help reduce costs by about \$40 million. Most of the laid-off workers are expected to find jobs easily with other software companies who immediately began recruiting them.

Lowest in 24 years

Canada's unemployment rate fell to 6.6 per cent in May, its lowest level since March, 1976, another sign that the economy is continuing to surge despite higher interest rates. More than 400,000 jobs have been created in the past year.

Telus announces new CEO

After months of searching, Canada's second-largest telephone company, Burnaby, B.C.-based Telus Corp., appointed 37-year-old Darren Entwistle as its new chief executive. Entwistle, who worked for Bell Canada's international operations and in London for Cable & Wireless PLC, will oversee Telus's plans to challenge Bell in Eastern Canada.

Thomson sells more papers

In line with its previously announced plan to disperse with all of its newspapers except the Toronto-based *Globe and Mail*, Thomson Corp. sold 58 of its U.S. papers to two American firms, General Co. Inc. and Community Newspaper Holdings Inc., for a total of \$2.3 billion. Thomson, which has 16 papers still for sale, plans to move into Internet-based information services.

TD sells off CIBC's credit cards

U.S. financial behemoth Citigroup Inc. has purchased the inactive MasterCard business built up by Canada Trust. The Toronto Division Bank put the unit up for sale to satisfy the concerns of the *Corporation Bancaire* after TD Bank bought CIBC financial Services Inc. earlier this year.

A sharp surge at the pump

Virtually overnight, Canadian drivers were hit with another sharp increase in gasoline. The average price of a litre of regular unleaded gas rose to 75.3 cents, according to a weekly survey of national gas prices by Calgary, Edmonton MJ Ervin & Associates. The jump hit Montreal the hardest, pushing prices up an average of nine cents, to 85.3 cents. Naturally, the average hike was 2.4 cents a litre. Last week's surge reminded many consumers of the spike that occurred in mid-March, when the average price hit 72.9 cents before slipping back to a record 68 cents in April and 70 cents in May.

Analysts said that higher prices for crude oil, which have risen to about \$30 (U.S.) per barrel this month from



Filling up in Toronto: more pump pain

a range of about \$25 to \$28 in April and May are largely responsible. A strong economy and the approach of the summer driving season is also increasing demand, they noted. But Ontario Premier Mike Harris said high federal taxes and subsidies by the oil companies were responsible. Harris formed a Conservative committee to investigate high gas prices after the March increase.

Nonstop trading

Investors may soon be able to trade stocks 24 hours a day, unhindered by changing time zones. Stock exchanges in Toronto, New York City, Tokyo, Hong Kong, Paris, Amsterdam, Brussels, Mexico City, São Paulo and Australia plan to create a Global Equity Market that would account for 60 per cent of the world's equities, an amount worth more than \$30 trillion. While regulatory and technical hurdles remain, GEM will likely be a competitor to NYSE, the planned alliance of the London, Frankfurt and New York-based Nasdaq exchange.

Financial Outlook

Statistics Canada reported that factories and plants are running the best. In the first quarter of this year, industries were using a whopping 37.6 per

cent of their capacity, a level not seen since the mid-1960s. The electronics industry, including high-tech manufacturers, is operating at a record 94.6 per cent of capacity, up nearly 15 per cent over the same period last year.

To deal with the increasing demand for products, business spending on factories and high-tech equipment rose 2.7 per cent in the first quarter. And, while StatsCan is not finding definitive evidence of inflation building in the economy, it does caution that industrial prices have been rising recently, which could trigger higher prices at the consumer level later this year.





Diane Francis

Who owns knowledge?

A new "religious" rift has started, involving technology. The debate is about who should own and control the amazing advances that are occurring in computers and the life sciences. This rift pits people who believe that the most significant technology belongs to all of humanity versus those individuals who believe that technology is private property and therefore owners should control accessibility and profitability.

The unresolved dispute has led to computer viruses almost daily. The latest major incident was the "I Love You" virus outbreak in May, when a computer program invaded some of the world's most sophisticated computer networks, causing an estimated \$10 billion in damages. The virus infected computers, destroying their hard-drive memories, when message attachments titled "I Love You" were sent and opened. After each network was successfully invaded, the virus spread exponentially because it was automatically sent to e-mail addresses in the infected computers. It was a digital sex version of the chain letter from hell.

The program is thought to have involved an impoverished programming student in Manila by the name of Onel de Guzman. This young man, who shared a dormitory apartment with his sister and her boyfriend, apparently designed the program as part of a college thesis, which was, unusually, rejected by his teacher. The program was designed to help fellow Filipinos escape free access to the Internet by providing computers in order to harvest passwords from paying subscribers. Local newspaper reports said that his thesis argued that Internet access should be free and that charging for its use was unethical.

Like most Third World denizens or poor First World residents, de Guzman is not paid for his access to the Internet because he cannot afford the service-provider costs. Instead, he apparently shared a few precious, expensive hours on the Web in college laboratories or with friends at Internet cafes. The suspect credo was "Free the Net," according to a *Herald Tribune* headline. "The 'Love Bug' case sheds light on the poverty-driven hacker subculture."

A similar divide for private property is seriously affecting the music and movie industries as people continually swap CDs and videos on the Internet. A friend recently showed me how he could download, for free, any CD or feature-length Hollywood film, even those currently playing in theaters. From private sites opened by volunteers who believe that information and culture belong to everyone.

This ideological rift is also behind the Linux movement, an open-source computer operating system heralded by its non-proprietary developers as an alternative to the monopolistic Win-

dows franchise of Microsoft Corp. Linux codes are free, and a global, collective effort is under way to make it available to everyone and make it as user-friendly as Windows. Rob Young, who grew up in Honduras, is an evangelist for Linux and co-founded Red Hat Inc., which provides support for programmers and others to work with the free system.

The "red revolution," according to Young, is about sharing efforts to build a new software system that everyone can freely use. "Engineers have to publish their drawings before they're allowed to build the bridge," he told me recently, "but in software they can write bugs into their codes intentionally to damage their competitors. The traditional software model is proprietary. You can work for three years and are not allowed to show it to anyone else—and these engineers think that's wrong. If they want playthings or toys they would get to show their colleagues and peers the clever stuff they were doing and they would get to see what their colleagues were doing."

This ownership debate also reared its head recently in the bio-science, notably in the race to crack the human genome by two teams, one private sector and another involving 18 governments. The genome is biology's equivalent to discovering the elements of chemistry, and scientists are close to identifying all the rest of thousands of genes that comprise any human being. Once identified, geneticists maintain they will be able to tailor-make pharmaceuticals to more effectively treat diseases based on an individual's genetic code. They also will be able to indicate, and manipulate, genes that are precursors to many maladies from physical diseases to disabilities or depression and other mental illnesses.

The ideological debate erupted earlier this year when U.S. President Bill Clinton and British Prime Minister Tony Blair jointly announced that genetics were the key to life itself and should be in the public domain. The two leaders both called about introducing legislation to make the genome, and further research, available for anyone in the global scientific community. Not surprisingly, biotech stocks, which had been tossed on the basis that major cancer or genetic innovations would produce windfalls, fell dramatically following the joint announcement.

Arguments that the genetic or Internet are too important to become mere rich men's or multinational's playthings are compelling. No person or multinational should own a cure for cancer, or deny the right to access knowledge. That would be like giving someone a monopoly on oxygen in the atmosphere. The war and debate over who uses what technology will increasingly permeate the political agenda in this century. Unless resolved, there will be more Love Bug attacks by the disinfranchised.

Tech Explorer

High-speed suburban surfing

Fast never seems fast enough when it comes to technology. As in point: Marconi PLC, Britain's largest telecommunications-equipment maker, last week introduced what it calls Deep Fiber technology for voice, video and high-speed data for the home. According to Marconi, the fibre-optic cable spans what the system is based is fast to 10 times faster than current Internet connections through coaxial cable or high-speed telephone lines. Mark Paves, a consulting engineer with Marconi in Toronto, says Deep Fiber allows home users to receive data at the rate of 10 megabits per second and send it at 4.5 megabits per second. The consumer, says Fisher, "continues to use his regular phone, his regular PC, TV or set-top box. And he gets access to all of those services over a single fibre strand to the home."

Marconi is currently testing the technology at its facilities in Bolton, and expects it to be available within six months. It is designed to be installed in new housing subdivisions, where the fibre-optic cable can be laid more economically than in existing

neighbourhoods. Marconi expects to sell its technology to emerging carriers looking to compete with established telephone and cable companies. These new service providers would then market a single voice, video and data package to the homeowner. Canada's major cable companies, says Fisher, could be future customers as well. "It allows them to offer additional services above and beyond what they are limited to today," says Fisher. A spokeswoman for Rogers Communications Inc. (which owns *MovieWorld*) said it will use only to say whether Rogers' cable operators would be interested in the new technology.

Long play

The problem with most portable MP3 players is their limited capacity to store digital music. That should change this summer with the release of the Nomad Jukebox by Milpitas, Calif.-based Creative Labs Inc. The Jukebox, with its gigabytes of memory, can hold about 100 hours of music in the MP3 format, or almost 100 times what portable MP3 players typically hold now. With that kind of



The Nomad Jukebox
100 hours of MP3s

storage space, users will be able to load up to 150 CDs' worth of music from a personal computer onto the Jukebox's hard drive, which is similar to those used in laptops. Available in silver or metallic blue, the Jukebox also plays WAV audio files and is equipped with a USB port for rapid computer downloads. It can be used with headphones or plugged into either the car or home stereo. While it resembles a portable CD player, the Jukebox plays only files stored on its hard drive. Expected retail price: \$900.

Cool Sites

To the dogs

Trying to decide what kind of dog to get, or learn more about dogs? These who want to know are turning to *www.fondnessforbirds.com/dog*. Created by a dog-training centre in the Netherlands, the site offers links to a wide range of information about popular and rare breeds, as well as clubs, pictures and e-mails. For a list of officially recognized Canadian breeds, see *www.cca.ca*.

Daryle Hardschick

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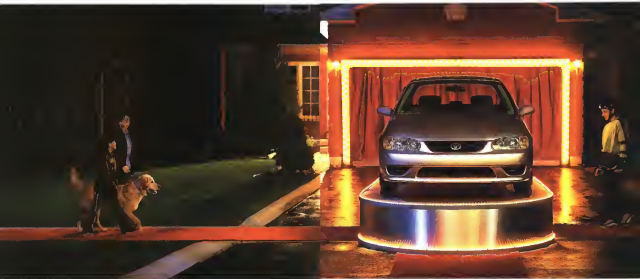


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Marijuana goes legit

Interest is high in Ottawa's plan to license growers of cannabis for medical research

By Jennifer Hunter

The town of Grand Forks, B.C., sits gently along the Kettle River, casting a glance south past the Stikine Mountains in Washington state, just 2.5 km away. It is the heart of a bucolic community of 10,000 people, farmers and forestry workers, roughly halfway between Vancouver and the Alberta border. Along the Crowfoot Highway, which cuts through town, signs tout the area's temperate climate and Double-bonnet heritage. "Famous for sunshine and bonnets." Now Brian Taylor, 53, a controversial former arsonist, wants to use Grand Forks celebrated for something else entirely: high-grade marijuana. For with impeccable pharmacological credentials, "This is going to be a big industry," he boasts.

With his company, Grand Forks Cannabis Research Institute Inc., Taylor wants to win a \$5-million Canadian government tender to provide domestically grown marijuana for research. A year ago, Health Minister Allan Rock announced a five-year plan to develop a Canadian source of medicinal marijuana. First, scientists will evaluate the plant's reputation for increasing the appetite of AIDS patients taking nauseating medication, lessening the pain associated with gliomas and alleviating the symptoms of arachnoiditis, a disease such as multiple sclerosis. Experts are establishing protocols for testing both cannabis and synthetic versions of its active ingredients. If the tests show medical benefits, Rock may allow greater legal access to marijuana.

In the absence of long-term clinical data, information about the efficacious



Taylor's building to produce a high-quality crop for federal clinical trials

effect of marijuana has been meagre. So far, Health Canada has received more than 230 requests from across the country for application forms to provide the high-grade marijuana required for trials. The deadline for proposals, already delayed twice, is now June 21. Other competing interest, besides Taylor, include Christmas-tree farmer Shannon Casey of Lake Park, N.S., Alfred College, an Ottawa affiliate of the University of Guelph, McGill University in Montreal, and PEI's Governor Macpherson Ltd. in Fortune, P.E.I.

Taylor, known locally as an "old

hippie," has spent 10 years researching the cultivation of marijuana for potent cousin, hemp. He believes his Cannabis Research Institute, headquartered in a shabby mobile home on his farm just outside town, has a good chance of getting the federal nod. His proposal outlines plans to grow marijuana hydroponically in three greenhouses, hire soil specialists and lab experts, and provide the necessary strict security. "We feel the package we have put together is excellent," says Taylor. Although he lacks the science degree that Ottawa is seeking among bidders,

he has three sciences on his right-member board. The criteria also stipulate that bidders have an criminal record, and have the means to supply 100,000 standardized marijuana capsules with a tetrahydrocannabinol (THC) content between five and six per cent in the first year.

Taylor's marijuana project is gaining court approval in a region facing the downside of the vagaries of the forest industry. Bob Johnstone, acting president of the local chamber of commerce, says the area needs more economic development. "Medical research of this type will help the world," he adds. Martin Knapik, director of economic development for the Kootenay-Timberland Region, shares that opinion. "This would be a high-value agricultural crop," he says. "It would attract highly skilled and highly paid workers." Taylor's bid also has the endorsement of the Compassion Club of Vancouver, provider of organically grown marijuana to sufferers of AIDS, cancer and other chronic illnesses. "I am very supportive of the government doing research and creating a Canadian cannabis supply," says club founder Hilary Black. She opened the club three years ago after using marijuana to alleviate the suffering of a woman in her 60s with chronic arthritis. Black decided to supply pot to other patients who could provide medical notes from their doctor. The Vancouver club now has 1,100 members who pay \$15 a year in dues. There are similar operations in Toronto, Montreal and Calgary.

A menu on the wall at the Vancouver one shows the types of marijuana available, most a combination of indica and sativa strains. (Indica is supposed to induce pain relief, is reportedly better for neurological ailments.) The menu, which changes daily, includes: Morning Glory, Francis's Dream and Organic Outdoor Champagne, costing between \$5 and \$9 a gram. The grass comes from about a dozen local growers—legally. And there's the rub. Although as of last week Ottawa had granted 42 Canadians, including two of Vancouver's Compassion Club members, permission to grow and use marijuana for medical reasons, many of the patients are too sick or do not have the facilities

to raise a crop. Yet it remains illegal for them to buy it from another source. Black, who has attracted the attention of police but has a never been charged for trafficking, tried to help by mailing marijuana to some of the people exempted from federal drug laws. But police in Ontario have interrupted some packages, including one sent recently to Jim Wakeford, a 55-year-old Toronto AIDS patient who has spearheaded the legal fight for the medical use of marijuana. "I wouldn't be alive if I didn't use marijuana," Wakeford says. "My weight loss was too bad, but marijuana has stimulated my appetite." Finding a source of pesticide-free, inexpensive weed, however, has been almost impos-

sible. Police have arrested two friends who tried to provide him with cannabis. "All I've been asking for," says an angry Wakeford, "is safe, clean, affordable, high-quality Canadian marijuana for medical purposes." While he welcomes Rock's initiative, years of head-battering with Ottawa have left him disillusioned. "I don't really trust the federal government," he says.

In Grand Forks, Taylor is high on the prospects of growing medicinal marijuana. If things go well, he plans to take the Cannabis Research Institute public. "In a couple of years," he says, "we could even be exporting to the U.S." That would undoubtedly create a new buzz in free trade. ■

Maclean's

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ROBERTS MEDIA

Both Sides Now

A home-town exhibition showcases songwriter Joni Mitchell's talent as a visual artist

By Brian Bergman in Saskatoon

*Oh I am a lovely painter
I live in a box of paints
I'm frightened by the street
And I'm drawn to those ones that
won't offend*

—Joni Mitchell, *A Case of You*

When Gilles Hébert accepted a job as director of the Mendel Art Gallery in Saskatoon two years ago, he knew very little about his adopted city. "I knew that it had a very good art gallery, that it was on the Prairies—and that it was the place where Joni Mitchell came from," says the Winnipeg-born, Vancouver-based Hébert. He was also aware that, in addition to being one of the most influential and celebrated songwriters of her generation, Mitchell, 56, was an avid painter. From that spring an audacious thought: why not mount a retrospective of Mitchell's visual art and invite the Los Angeles-based pop icon to return to her Prairie home for the opening? After much persistence, Hébert got his wish, and on June 30 the normally sedate Mendel gallery will unveil an 81-piece exhibition, *Voices*, which is expected to draw Mitchell fans and media attention from around the globe.

After several false starts, Hébert first met up with Mitchell a year ago when she was making one of her periodic visits to Saskatoon, where her parents still reside. He had con-

tacted an old friend of the singer who, in turn, arranged a supper meeting between the two. Mitchell was immediately receptive to the idea of an exhibition. Over the next nine months, Hébert made three trips to Los Angeles to visit with Mitchell and view her paintings, many of them on display at her palatial Bel Air home. He was impressed by both

the quality and quantity of her work; together, they filled through about 500 paintings, drawings and photo montages created over nearly four decades. But Hébert was also struck by what a strong artistic and personal attachment Mitchell has to the Canadian Prairies. "Her connection with this place," he says, "is really quite incredible."

Born in Fort Macleod, Alta., the only child of Bill and Myrtle Anderson, Joni lived briefly in the Saskatchewan communities of Madsone and North Battleford before her family moved to Saskatoon when she was 11. A year or less, she had contracted polio and she credits her long acquaintance with helping to build an artistic sensibility. "She didn't really have a normal childhood," Bill Anderson told



Get out of the Kitchen #2 (1983):
Turbulent landscapes self-portrait
(far left); 60 Below 6 (bottom):
the singer displays an eclectic,
restless streak in her painting

One of the works in the forthcoming exhibition that best illustrates Mitchell's Saskatchewan roots is *60 Below 6*, a haunting view of a snow-covered Prairie road at dusk. The 1995 oil painting captures a scene that Mitchell and a companion took in while driving through the barren countryside near Prince Albert. "She's been known to come here in the dead of winter, rent a fool and head to the country to take photographs," says Hébert. "She then takes those photos to Bel Air and paints Canadian Prairie landscapes."

Mitchell's landscapes are just one part of her oeuvre. As in her music—which has run the gamut from folk to pop to torch songs—Mitchell displays an eclectic, restless streak in her visual art. The Saskatoon exhibition gives viewers on the full kaleidoscope. There are the studied self-portraits that have graced several of her albums and CD covers. There are abstract paintings from the late 1970s and 1980s showing her in full experimental bloom. And there are reproductions taken from early sketch-pad drawings—including one of a youthful Neil Young—that Mitchell did backstage in the 1960s as she waited to perform.

For Mitchell, visual art is no trifling hobby. Before she ever assumed a guitar, she had picked up a paintbrush. "Painting was her first love," recalls her father, Bill Anderson, a retired executive with a grocery-store chain. "And I think it will be her last love when the music industry gets too much for her." Mitchell has said as much herself. Asked about the prospect of being dropped by her record label, she once said: "Although I do feel some responsibility to my gods, my ice in the hole is that I don't care if they drop me. I'll just cash in my marbles and go paint."

Born in Fort Macleod, Alta., the only child of Bill and Myrtle Anderson, Joni lived briefly in the Saskatchewan communities of Madsone and North Battleford before her family moved to Saskatoon when she was 11. A year or less, she had contracted polio and she credits her long acquaintance with helping to build an artistic sensibility. "She didn't really have a normal childhood," Bill Anderson told

Before Mitchell ever strummed a guitar, she had picked up a paint brush

Melrose "She was with adults most of the time." A running point came when a Grade 7 English teacher saw the young girl's paintings and told her "If you can paint with a brush, you can paint with words."

Jon's interest gradually turned to music and in 1964 she left for Toronto, where she met and briefly married fellow fellowinger Chuck Mitchell. But even as her career took off with hits like *Both Sides Now*, *The Circle Game* and *Big Yellow Taxi*, Mitchell continued to paint. And when the commercial success of her music waned during the 1980s and early 1990s, her visual art provided solace. "For her, it's a very personal activity," says Hefert. "Unlike her music, she's not painting for other people, but for herself."

Mitchell's only formal training was a short stint at the Alberta College of Art & Design in Calgary, where she dropped out after one year. She retains skepticism of the value of art schools and believes that her painting may not be taken seriously by some because of her musical celebrity. In 1999, Mitchell was invited back to Sukkatoon to address a Canadian Conference of the Arts symposium on art education, titled "We're Getting Older, Van Gogh's!" Mitchell, who was feeling underappreciated by the music industry at the time, spoke in her usual secure-of-consciousness manner about how her school had failed to fulfill her needs. She later recalled how, in the next day's Sukkatoon *SunShower*, a local painter declared "he didn't need some rich sack-strawandering up there telling him she was a serious artist." Added Mitchell: "I went back to Los Angeles and got serious."

Springing directly from that experience was the title song for Mitchell's 1994 CD, *Zekebel's Judge*. "You wanna make Van Gogh's," she sings on the title track, "raise 'em up like champagne 'ers out of happiness and women if you please." For the cover art—also part of the coming celebration—Mitchell painted her own face, with a bandaged ear, in a recreation of a famous 1889 Van Gogh self-portrait. Mitchell won Grammy Awards that year for both the CD and the cover art. In fact, *Zekebel's Judge* marked the beginning of a kind of Mitchell renaissance. She has since been inducted (belatedly, in her view) into the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame in Cleveland and received a Governor General's Award. She was recently the subject of an all-size celebrity tribute featuring artists such as Elton John, James Taylor and K.d. lang. In April, Mitchell released her latest CD, *Both Sides Now*, to rave reviews. Backed by a 71-piece orchestra, the



Black Orpheus #2 (1985)
Sketch of Neil Young (right) studied self-portraits from album and CD covers with abstract paintings from the late 1970s and 1980s that show the artist in full experimental bloom



covers several track standards and provides a lush reinterpretation of two of her own songs, including the title tune.

Now, the Sukkatoon exhibition promises to give new exposure to another side of Mitchell's talent. And her scheduled homecoming is already causing a stir: Hefert is bracing for an opening-night crowd of up to 8,000, about 10 times the normal turnout. Even before formally publicizing the event, he had received e-mails and letters from Mitchell fans as far away as Britain and Australia. Among them was a man from New Orleans who wrote that "he didn't know where or what Sukkatoon was, but he was coming."

All the same, Hefert says he is keen not to turn the event into "some Hollywood blockbuster." Mitchell, who has only sporadically exhibited her paintings, agreed to the four-day show in large part because it was at Sukkatoon, a city she considers to view fondly. "She'll talk about her favorite pool halls and which ones had the best jukeboxes so that she could dance," marvels Hefert. "She's been away for 36 years but she remembers everything." For the solitary painter from Bel Air, the brush strokes of lead back home. ■



1

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Innovation

Passionate Prince

By John Benbow in Stratford

Paul Gross looks done in. Wearing jeans and a grey T-shirt, the star of *Dear Sarah* slumps into a chair in a Stratford, Ont., restaurant and orders a Heizen. His startlingly blue eyes are shadowed by fatigue, and he seems unable to get comfortable. He is, he acknowledges, more tired than he has ever been in his life. "On the *Dear Sarah*, I'd work 18 hours a day. But I never felt as wiped out as after three hours of this."

"This" is *Hamlet*, Shakespeare's classic tragedy of revenge, and Gross, improbably, is playing the title role at this year's Stratford Festival (May 3 to Nov. 3). The experience, he says, has been uniquely unsettling. Gross is the relative safety of a TV studio with its multiple chances to get a scene right.

For Paul Gross,
Hamlet is a
man who
thwarts his
best impulses



Gross is the comfortable predictability of Gross. Benbow Frost, the comically staccatoed Moose Grog played on *Dear Sarah*. Now Gross, 41, has to face a live audience of 3,800-plus, and during the Prince of Denmark's notorious soliloquies, he has to face it on a bare stage, alone. "Some nights, I find myself wishing I had a helicopter or two in the back behind," he says. "Anything to stretch the sense of exposure."

It's no secret that Gross got the part largely because he's a lean-of-the-line actor, one of the few Canadian actors with a high international profile. Although *Dear Sarah* stopped production two years ago, it's still running in syndication in more than 200 countries. And then there are the fans who just refuse to go away—thousands of them across North America and Europe, most of them female. They converge on the festival, and last summer they held a convention in Toronto where one woman caused a scene by showing off one of Gross's underarms, which she had bought at an auction for \$185. Now, it seems, many of these *Dear Sarah* aficionados are making a pilgrimage to Stratford, a two-hour drive west of Toronto, to meet him. For *Hamlet* are going through the roof. "What Gross's fans will make of him as *Hamlet* is hard to say. It's

true that Benbow Frost quotes the drama in one episode, but that will hardly prepare his followers for Gross's dramatic make-over into an explosively violent young man quite capable of breaking the fingers of anyone who stands in his way. Gross's Hamlet could eat Benbow Frost for breakfast.

But then Gross himself is a more daunting presence than the gentlemanly Frost. He swears madly, likes his drink, and is also something of an intellectual, with a visible passion for Shakespeare and his most famous play. He says he's read "a tonnage" of books about Hamlet, and he talks about the drama's immense power with the kind of rapturous enthusiasm most usually reserved for Formula One racing cars or great hockey teams. Early in the spring, after his first read-through of the play with the rest of the cast, he found himself re-

housed by intentional violence. "Hamlet yanks you inside, throws you around the room, then picks you up and hoves you out into the parking lot," he says. "When it's over you think, 'Holy [—]! What just happened?'"

It was the beginning of an extraordinary journey for the actor, one of his greatest. In early May, as the night of the first preview performance approached, Gross found himself terrified. "It wasn't stage fright," he says now. "It was the actor that I didn't have what it takes for the role. I was

unworthy." In fact, Gross had acted *Hamlet* only once before, when he played Rosencrantz in a 1985 Toronto production of *Rosencrantz and Guildenstern*. That would seem like meagre preparation for a role often cited as the most demanding in world drama. Gross was worried he might fall flat on his face, and in the audience, he knew, would be those who expected him to.

The actor told to director Joseph Zentgraf about backing out, but in the end he went on. That first night was a revelation. Gross discovered that *Hamlet* is in fact a dialogue with its audience—and that the audience's response helped him quell his inner voice and give a meaningful shape to his performance. In fact, Gross has come to reach in the breadth of the part, and the unusual freedom it grants an actor. "Any other role I've played



Gross (left), David Keeley, Juan Cisneros: "Hamlet has absolutely changed me"

is on a narrow bandwidth by comparison. But with *Hamlet* you can do virtually anything you want out there." During one performance, Gross was inspired to fall down and stage an epileptic fit. Say the actor: "I don't see such an uncanny, electric, unprovoked feeling to the language and structure of the play. I've never been able to play it, save the same way twice."

As Gross talks about the play, it becomes clear that his lack of experience in acting Shakespeare may be an advantage: the more simply he's had time to grow used. The Prince of Denmark is not so much a role to him as a real human being of something, life-giving complexity. "Hamlet's incredibly witty, generous beyond belief, and he's an asshole, all in the same time," the actor says. "He's actually an And it was made

of him is the better side of us, and this side loses, and that's the tragedy. *Hamlet* is not about the fall of a great man, like *Law*. In tragedy it's ours. Our better side cannot exist in this play. It is a brutally cold, hard piece of writing, and not far from second continental."

Gross, who normally makes his home with his family in Toronto, is currently living in an old Stratford house that looks, he says, "like a warehouse in a study section of London, all red carpets and gilt frames and portraits of George V." In July, he'll be joined by his wife, actress Martha Burns, and their two school-age children, Hannah and Jack. But until they arrive, Gross has the place to himself, and he's been trying to take advantage of the peace and quiet to work on other projects. A writer and producer as well as an actor (he began his career as a playwright), Gross is hoping to launch a new TV series next year called *Stratford*, about a former rock star turned gunshow. He's also working on a drama for the big screen titled *Men with Brooms*, which he claims will be the first casting movie ever. "It's a sweeping epic," he jokes.

Work on the *Men with Brooms* script, which he is co-writing with John Deane, has been progressing slowly. The problem is *Hamlet*. After speaking words of genius for three hours at a stretch, he had to sit down to the old word processor and face your own limitations. "Sometimes," Gross says, "all I'm capable of typing is 'I want a Blue.'" And on really bad days, he adds, a depressing little voice whispers in his ear, "you're a hack and you should stop."

Yet Gross isn't likely to stop. He's a compulsive hoarder of projects and dreams of dreams. "It's a gaffly," he says. "I just go on what seems interesting." For the moment, that gaffly has been consumed by the bleeding glare of *Hamlet*. "Shakespeare rearranges us inside," Gross says, warning again to his fascinated subject, "the very structure of our marrow changes. *Hamlet* has absolutely changed me. I'll never run over by a bus tonight. I'm better for having done it. Not that I'm a better person. But it brings you back to some of the things you don't ordinarily think that much about." Does that mean that Paul Gross is about to write into a new career as a classical actor? He takes another sip of his drink while he considers the question. "No," he says finally. "One of the problems with *Hamlet* is that it makes you almost disinterested in acting. After this, I don't know what the hell would be worth it." ■



Theatre

Darkness and light

The Stratford Festival ranges from anguish to delight

The Stratford Festival recently launched its 48th season with six new shows, ranging from the inspired complexity of The Three Maskerents to the tragic intensity of The Diary of Anne Frank. A brief critical survey

In **Shakespeare's Hamlet** (to Nov 3), television star Paul Giamatti presents the Prince of Denmark in a rather conventional young man of 20 or so. But his life changes forever when he is seized by his father's ghost (an impressive Juan Chioran) and ordered to avenge his murder. Rarely has the motivation for Hamlet's bizarre behaviour been made so shockingly clear: the prince is literally haunted by his father—repeated with a psychotic that continually repeats throughout the play. There are really two Hamlets here: the placid exterior one and the seething, unknown Hamlet inside, a creature of fear, pain and rage. Giamatti shows these two brilliantly against themselves, and in the process takes us inside Hamlet's five actors have been able to. His performance loses intensity towards the end, yet the chief failure of this Joseph Ziegler directed production is in the major supporting roles: too often the

actors take refuge in the beauty of the language while avoiding the play's emotional core.

Pivotal in the show is the festival's musical this year, and it's one of the most thrilling productions ever mounted at Stratford (to Nov 4). Directed by Susan H. Schwalm, this remake of Jerry Buck and Stratford Hamlet's 1964 classic boasts a full-on cast led by the luminous Brent Carter as Troy, the dayman. In a role originally made famous by the lighter-than-life Zoo Morat, Carter sustains his own crafty combination of staid innocence and humorous undercurrent to match the park at the heart of this tale about a village in pre-revolutionary Russia.

The Three Maskerents is a more cruel puff in comparison—but an exquisitely concocted one (to Nov 4). Directed by Richard Monro, this 1968 Peter Rabl adaptation of Alexander Dumas' novel features a lot of sparkling swordplay, witty banter and the kind of in-your-face comic gusto Stratford is noted for. The excellent cast is led by Kate

Scene from The Three Maskerents: Blake (below): quelling swordplay

Torrey's deliciously villainous Milady de Winter, a woman for whom sex is just a tool of another kind.

The Importance of Being Earnest, Oscar Wilde's 1895 comedy (to Nov 4), is being performed with its normally ornate third act restored—which makes for a longer (or not necessarily better) play. But director Monro has ensured performances of great comic precision and verve from his cast, and particularly from the four young lovers (Donald Cunniff, Graham Abbey, Michelle Gagne, Claire Julien) for whom the obstacles to love are so fascinating as love itself.

The Diary of Anne Frank by Frances Goodrich and Albert Hackett (to Nov 5) is not a particularly strong play, condensed on its own merits, but it brings the reality of the Holocaust continually to mind, and so achieves, in this role. At Woman-directed version, a considerable moral and emotional weight. Led by 17-year-old Maggie Blake as Anne, this tale of how several Dutch Jews hid from the Nazis in Amsterdam is assisted by other ensemble effort.

As You Like It, one of William Shakespeare's loveliest comedies (to Nov 4), focuses on no less than four pairs of quarrelling lovers who wander haplessly around the Forest of Arden. In the end, all are reconciled, but not before director James Lamberton and designer Douglas Parachuk have laid some fun with their warty bromides set, where hanging ropes stand in for trees. The theatrical concept behind this show may be hard to grasp, yet it remains some of the finest acting at Stratford just now, including Juan Chioran's dully despicable Jacques. His delivery of the famous "Seven Ages of Man" speech is disarming.

John Bernese



Stratford, Shaw and Branagh?

After British actor-director Kenneth Branagh experienced the stresses of the Cannes Film Festival last month—which included a rubdown from supermodel Heidi Klum in the American Foundation for AIDS Research benefit—he jetted off to sunny Ontario. In Toronto, he caught a show by Scottish actor-comic Billy Connolly, checked out the Rembrandt exhibit at the Art Gallery of Ontario, and at the Stratford and Shaw festivals saw *The Importance of Being Earnest* and *The Doctor*. Delirious: "I was impressed by both," says Branagh. "But what I am amazed by is the size of the shows and the audiences. Stratford can attract 3,000 people a night, which means Canadians are extremely loyal."

Branagh, too, has loyal followers, who appreciate his traditional adaptations of Henry V, Othello, Much Ado About Nothing and Hamlet. Now, the Shakespearean actor is looking to test his audience. He has taken one of the Bard's less popular plays, *Love's Labour's Lost*, and made it into a musical—complete with elaborate dance numbers to Gershwin, Puccini, Berlin and Kern songs. Since the film opened in England two months ago, reviews have been mixed, at best. And since only a couple of the cast members can sing and dance—Branagh not included—the result is often unintentionally amusing. But Branagh, who has endured songs and scenes of critics may never believe, is unfazed. "I don't mind in this case," he says, "if they laugh at us or with us."

People Edited by Anthony Wilson-Smith with Shonda Dazal

Lessons in life from Luba

Luba Kovachuk has every right to wince. Looking back at her artistic vision from the 1980s, it's clear that she was one of the decade's fashion victims—big hair, fringe headsets and postmodern-style baggy clothes. But Luba, whose headless put her age at "close to 40," is far from embarrassed. "Back then," she told Mailbox, "everyone smooched their hair." Of Ukrainian descent, Luba was born in Montreal and started her band while still in high school. After three albums that spawned the hit songs *Let It Go* and *How Many*, she disappeared, moving to the north of Montreal, to re-evaluate her career and take care of her mother, who died of cancer in 1994. Now, after a 10-year hiatus, she emerges with a classic look (black dresses and a hair spray-free blunt cut). And her new album, *From the Bottom to the Street*, shows a mature artist, more at home in the adult contemporary video station MuchMusic than on MuchMusic, the station associated with her pop beginnings. "It's like I've graduated," she says.

Luba: a more sophisticated style and sound



One Mann on a marijuana mission

Director Ron Mann wouldn't win drug the Ontario Film Festival Board was on last week when it banned *Grass*, his documentary about the war on marijuana. The board objected to a 20-second clip of a U.S. government experiment from the 1970s showing disapproving smoking pot. On appeal, the board reversed its decision—but not before the story flied around the world. "It made the owners look like clowns," said Mann. "How no evil, see no evil."

The 41-year-old Toronto director

has made a career of documenting pop culture with rapists about poetry, jazz, comic books and the Twist. *Grass*, which opened in the United States to rave reviews and strong box office, made a breakthrough. *Acute Woody* Harrington, who narrates, is promoting it on late-night talk shows. And Mann hopes *Grass* will boost the movement to decriminalize pot. "This film is about personal freedom," he says. "The issue is like the Berlin Wall: eventually it's going to come down."





Trouble in paradise

fight the skin and slander prevalent in CBS's hit show *Savonar*. The Canadian version, *Pioneer Quest: A Show in the West*, promised to be totally family entertainment. For one year, two episodes would be broadcast 30 seconds of local live outside Writings, using only resources available to pioneers in the 1800s. The project would highlight hard work and camaraderie—in stark contrast to the cutthroat competition in *Savonar*. But modern reality intruded the first day of filming. One couple, Torin and Pat Ziefkowski of Drupadi, Man., dropped out of the show in Torin, 51, had been charmed with sexual abuse. No details.



Cast from *Survivor* (left):
Frank and Alton Logan,
Joan and Pat Zinkevich
(above, from left) colonially
don modern-day pioneers

the allegations were known at the end of the week. "They volunteered to withdraw," says Sydney Salter, vice-president of programming at History Television, which will air the show in the fall. "And this real-life drama will be part of the final season." The other couple, Frank and Alma Legie, 25 and 28, of Fergus, Ont., were joined by replacements Tim and Deanna Trenchard, 49 and 47, of Keweenaw, Ont.

Maybe CTV will have better luck with its Canadianization of a hot U.S. show. In September, Pamela Wallin will host a one-time, all-Canadian version of *Who Wants to Be a Millionaire*—ABC's smash hit to which only U.S. residents need apply. The Wallin show will be shot on the New York City set with Canadian contestants in front of a Canadian audience. And unlike the American winners, Canadians won't be taxed on their prizes.

Saying it ain't so

Chapters Inc. the blockbuster player in Canada's book trade With 300 million the nation's largest book retailer accounts for about half of most Canadian publishers' sales So no wonder that when rumors of financial difficulties ran rampant—fueled by claims that the chain was too slow in paying for its orders and was returning huge numbers of books—reaction in publishing houses erupted from coasted fingers to near panic But Chapters CEO Larry Steinberger expressed surprise when asked about the rumors "We made more money last year than the year before," he said "Our returns are actually down and we are paying publishers in exactly the same way we did a year ago If publishers are having a hard time, it is not because we are"



Dissing Dr. Laura

Joe Johnston, "learning the power of the Internet," the Toronto-based sex therapist, whose column the *Sunday Night Sex Show* airs on the *Witan's* Television Network, recently wrote a column for the *Strangest Goodies* column. With titles criticizing the infidelity advice American radio host Dr. Laura Schlesinger dispenses to her 18 million listeners. Making disparaging comments is about as far as Schlesinger is reaching now for Johnston—but the response she has received is "I talk about Dr. Laura on my TV show all the time, but it never gets, uh, discussed," he says, alluding to the calls from the media. Schlesinger has not yet responded to the trade. *Sex* rated.



Johanna (82%), Schilfrang, 2014

Pop Movies

- | | |
|---|-------------|
| 1. <i>Monks' (Impossible)</i> (1/24/74) | \$1,142,333 |
| 2. <i>Diabolik</i> (7/23/74) | \$1,288,942 |
| 3. <i>Big Momma's House</i> (7/26/74) | \$1,273,433 |
| 4. <i>Shogun</i> (3/24/74) | \$1,103,942 |
| 5. <i>Mangled Moon</i> (5/29/74) | \$1,054,083 |
| 6. <i>Good Bye</i> (1/24/74) | \$1,035,433 |
| 7. <i>Enter Stage</i> (3/22/74) | \$1,025,893 |
| 8. <i>Q-67</i> (9/1/74) | \$1,027,343 |
| 9. <i>Small Time Doctor</i> (3/4/74) | \$1,112,483 |
| 10. <i>When the Heart Is</i> (7/2/74) | \$1,122,483 |

Best-Sellers

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(hard) | ISBN |
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| 1 | JOHN G. GARDNER <i>Richard Brautigan</i> (22) | 2 | | |
| 2 | THE THREE (Edward Taylor) (8) | 3 | | |
| 3 | INTERVIEWING CHIMPANS (Gloria Steinem) (2) | 4 | | |
| 4 | MR. GILLES MICHOT (John G. Gardner) (22) | 5 | | |
| 5 | REUNION: A MEMOIR IN TRANSLATION (Gloria Steinem) (2) | 6 | | |
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Nonfiction

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3. **HOW TO KNOW GOD** Donald Chapman (2)
4. **THE FEAR FACTOR** (2)
5. **VIRTUAL WALL, If Your Spoken Word** (1)
6. **THE NEXT CARNAL WORMS' REASON** (2)
7. **EXPERIENCE** Martin Aron (2)
8. **RELATIONSHIP REFORM** Polytechnic (2)
9. **SOME ARE DREAM** Luke Sapienza (1)
10. **HOW TO READ APOCALYPSE** Russell Westbrook (2)

Updating a landmark

Hundreds of millions of people around the globe—many of them in developed nations—refuse to accept the theory of evolution. That is a disconcerting fact for Steve Jones, professor of genetics at University College in London, and one he decided to combat by modernizing Charles Darwin's revolutionary 1859 work, *The Origin of Species* in *Darwin's Ghost* (Doubleday). Jones revisited Darwin's work while retaining his chapter titles and main themes. But in between, Jones took 161 years of scientific advances, such as the discovery of DNA and visible evidence of species formation in progress, to answer objections that Darwin could not. For the geneticist, proof of natural selection is everywhere to be seen, but nowhere more clearly than in the AIDS epidemic, in which a virus unknown a century ago has in 20 years of constant evolution overcome every attempt to defeat it.

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The line on the Alliance

OK, gang, here's the scoop. The nation, as everyone knows, can hardly sleep over the excitement, drama and sheer jangling anticipation over the leadership battle going on within the Canadian Progressive Conservative Reform-Vigilante Party. Or whatever it is going to call itself next week. OK, here's the scoop:

Person Missing: Most intelligent MP in the House of Commons, though not everyone knows it, is Ottawa. Whenever he's there. Not there much these days. Out in the boonsa passing the fish with the faithful.

That's the problem. His only the faithful on his side. When he's not twice trying to break into Ontario. Ontario like Fort Knox. Province has its own Berlin Wall when confronted by a preacher from Flin Flin.

Problem is TV. Nobody goes to church businesses to listen to politicians speak. Maclean's King would be dead today on TV. Never elected. Parson has some problem. Telegraphically dead. Life is not fair.

Remember that radio listeners to Kennedy-Nixon debate thought Nixon won, with more reasoned assumptions. TV viewers didn't like his shadow and sweat. Dead meat.

Parson has the new haircut coach. Almost sat coach. Laser eye correction coach. But can't do anything about voice. Still sounds like chalk scraped over blackboard. Life not fair.

Jan Christian, every night at bedside, gets down on knees. Prays Parson wins. Means two old fogies against each other in 2001 spring election. Old fogie in power thanks to a coach.

But Parson probably still leading. Due to faithful first in boonsa. Will finish first on first ballot June 24, but without 50-per-cent magic to withstand second ballot July 8.

Sneakwell Day: Jeremy Secord crossed with Monaghan's Citi. The New Wave from The Prairie. Ralph Klein's measure has, superficially, an intriguing background. Born in Beano, Ont. Wisconsin High in Montreal. Picked up smattering of semi-gauche French. Big plus over wooden-sungard mink. Worked on duff fish boat. Drove bulldozer in the North. Dabbled as, never graduated, University of Victoria. Auctioneer in Kelowna, B.C. Brief stint as insurance decorator. A semi-pastor in rural Alberta.

Great stuff for magazine feature article. But also causes question. This guy have short attention span? How many cartoon

do voters want parading PM to have? Maybe a little conspiracy in life's purpose be a little help?

First front over Ontario's Berlin Wall somewhat disappointing. Glibness at microphone apparent. We appear—big plus over overly intense mink. But still can't shake jump-for-lease operation. Doesn't play with big-city voters.

Joan Long: Bay Street's gift to Canadian democracy. Still can't explain why Blackwell Bay decided, past night vote to go, why he be unveiled as future PM. Exemplifies the definition of failure. Or change.

He intuitive, curious forays into the West not successful. Why would Reform, immersed because of resentment of Toronto control of Canada, vote for another clerk from Mile Harris class? A problem: Who thought up this scenario?

He sensibly snazzy at the podium. Dips transparency. Drops Bay Street. Mysteriously, has acquired 6,000 Alliance delegates in Quebec. At 10 bucks a pop. God works in his own mysterious ways to perform.

Long campaign run by "The Merchant of Mud"—one Mike Murphy from U.S. Worked for Don Quixote. Specialist in negative advertising. He behind Long strategy to pour. Day as anti-gay candidate. At minimum, Long is running third. Will call for even more desperate tactics. What for them.

Kristi Manner: Needs a girlfriend, badly. Will get three votes. Will run them over to leading western Canadian candidate.

The Results: On June 24, in this celebratory CRA? arrangement when, for 10 bucks a pop, you can even phone in your vote, the Parson will lead on their first ballot but not, as mentioned, with the 50-plus-one-vote necessary to move off the second ballot.

Second ballot, July Long, running third, throws his by-now-bored Bay Street voters as former auctioneer/insurance decorator/pastor. Day. Anything to throw the Parson, who is still stuck behind the Berlin Wall.

The Parson, having all these behind the Berlin Wall (just outside Kenosha) who have dashed his last dreams, will use his support to the fish base (Parson).

The real PM, rising from his knees at bedside, will kiss Paul Martin goodbye and await with glee the new boy in the Non-Answer crocodile pit known as Question Period in the town that fun forgot.



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